

**THE
JOURNAL
OF
THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA**

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Chief Editor
AJIT GHOSE, M A

Editor For Muhammadan Coins
R. G. GYANI

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JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

SHAMIAWALA (BIJNOR DIST) HOARD OF SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS

[Plates I-II]

In the year 1920 some 143 silver coins along with a number of fragmentary bits of scrap silver, weighing in all about $31\frac{1}{2}$ Tolas, were discovered in the village of Shamiawala, in Tahsil Najibabad, in the District of Bijnor, U P. On removing the clay encrustations, it was found that there were only 139 complete coins, the remaining 4 pieces being blank pellets of silver of the size of the coins.

One of the coins was a big thin round piece, 9" in size, of a different fabric, probably a stray coin resembling the (11) Sūraseni type published on Plate XXXI of Numismatic Supplement, Vol XLV. The remaining 138 were all small coins measuring from 3" to 5", with an average weight of 25.3 grains. They were mostly rectilinear, but a few were circular and they could be divided into 3 classes as described below —

Class I, comprising 56 coins, bear the figure of a fish with 3 small dots, a small circle, and a Nandipada—all placed below the fish. These could be further subdivided into 3 types, having regard to the location of the dots, the small circles, and the Nandipada placed erect or aslant. The number of coins of this class is 56, and the average weight 25.46 grs. For illustration *vide* Pl II-A, symbols Figs 1, 2 and 3 and Pl II-B, coins Nos 1 to 3.

Class II, comprising 78 coins, is distinguished by the figure of an elephant with dots and Nandipada, facing left and right. These coins fall into eight different sub-classes, with or without a rider as illustrated on Pl II-A, symbols Figs 4 to 11 and Pl II-B, coins Nos 4 to 11, the average weight being 25.83 grs.

Class III comprises only 2 coins with the figure of a Nandi facing right, with 2 Nandipadas above, as illustrated on Pl II-A, symbol Fig 12, also on Pl II-B, coin No 12, the weight of each coin being 24.75 grs.

Two of the coins, one of Class I and one of Class II, were dissolved for quantitative chemical analysis.

A considerable quantity of scrap silver was found with the coins in the shape of a broken vessel with embossed design (Pl I, Fig A), small pellets of silver bullion (Pl I, Fig B), weighing

from 250 to 271 grains, three pieces of thin silver foils in shape of ornaments (Pl I, Fig C), pieces of silver wire of round, square and semi-circular sections (Pl I, Fig D), and small cut pieces of pellets (Pl I, Figs E and F), which convey the idea that the hoard belonged to a dealer in silver, this is supported by the presence of cut pieces of silver pellets. As no punches or other minting instruments were found with the hoard, it cannot be said that the collection of coins and the scrap silver were the property of a private owner, neither could such a small quantity of material be called the remnant of a mint. That coin making in ancient India was a royal prerogative has been established by several passages from Kautilya's Arthashastra.

The heavy bold embossed portion of a broken cup or jug (Pl I, Fig A) is a specimen of the art of the silversmith of the period.

The 5 big pellets (Pl I, Fig B) are samples of silver bullion weighing over 270 grains, quite unlike the modern huge silver bricks of over a thousand ounces.

The 3 thin foils of silver (Pl I, Fig C) $2'' \times \frac{1}{2}''$ with their edges turned back uniformly, and having small holes at the two ends, marked with a triangular design, appear to be ornaments for the forehead of that period. Such thin and fragile ornaments can hardly be used for personal decoration, and it is probable that they were merely ceremonial pieces.

As the average weight of the coins is 25.3 grains, (the heaviest piece weighing 27 grs) they are apparently silver half Panas of 28 grains or 16 Ratis. The Rati standard of ancient India varied between 18 and 175 grains. Thomas and other scholars calculated the old Rati to be of 18 grs, while Dr Bhandarkar came to the conclusion that it was of 175 grs, which is confirmed by my examination of over 2,000 silver punch-marked coins discovered in the Machhuatoli quarter of Patna, now in the Patna Museum, the majority of which were of the Mauryan period, all bearing the Mauryan symbol of hill and crescent (*vide* JRAS, London, July, 1936). This large hoard, examined at the Patna Museum, consisted of well-preserved coins of the Mauryan period, some of them showing the crystalline broken sections of chisel-cut coins, and others with edges clear sharp in mint condition. These give an average weight of a little below 56 grains, which means a Rati of 175 grs.

If the number of coins and the average weight of each of the three classes of coins be taken as an indication of the chronological sequence, then the two coins of Class III bearing the figure of a Nandi must be the earliest of the lot as their average weight

is only 24.75 grs., the deficiency from the full standard being as much as 3.25 grains. Coins of Class I with the fish symbol come next in order, and the most numerous, the coins of Class II, with an average weight of 25.83 grains, appear to be the latest in the hoard. Another noticeable fact is that the coins of the same sub-class appear to be punched with 2 or sometimes with 3 similar but slightly different punches, indicating that the coins were stamped by several workmen at a time, each using a separate punch of the same design, but a little different in execution.

The similarity of fabrication of these coins is a sure indication that they belong to a particular locality or dynasty. It is probable that they are the coins of three rulers of the same dynasty.

114 coins in the hoard are rectilineal, cut from thin bars or sheets of silver, only 24 of them are round, struck off from small flattened pellets, or round rods.

As all the coins are stamped on one side with a small punch, and there are no symbols on the reverse as seen usually on other types of punch-marked coins, the question arises whether they should be classed as punch-marked coins, or among the early one-sided die-struck coins, examples of which are known among Taxila copper coins, though none have yet come to light in silver. As other *Ardha-Panas* of small size in silver bearing a single large symbol on one side are known, it would be safer to put these coins as well under the category of silver punch-marked coins.

The three characteristic symbols occurring on these coins, viz., Nandi, elephant and Nandipada are found on punch-marked coins from very early times.

The figures on the coins are of a crude primitive style, the hoofs of the bulls and elephants being depicted by dots, and the peculiar mode of showing the tufts of hair at the tail ends of both the bull and the elephant by thick lines is archaic. Such figures can be compared with those on the early coins of Kosala which I ascribe to the pre-Nanda period, as well as on the early silver punch-marked coins of Mathurā which I attribute to the independent Surasena Kingdom of Mathurā in the 5th or early 4th century B.C., as mentioned in the Buddhist and Brahmanic literature,¹ these coins are, however, of a different standard weight, viz., of 45 grains, roughly 24 or 25 Ratis, and

1 *JBORS*, Vol. I, 1915, pp. 116, "Śaśunāka Chronology" by K. P. Jayaswal.

thus belong to a period before Mahāpadma Nanda conquered these independent kingdoms in the 4th century B C

It may be pointed out here that the 1,059 silver punch-marked coins excavated at Taxila with coins of Alexander the Great and Philip Arridaeus "fresh from the mint" in 1924-1925 are of the Nanda period. Sir J. Marshall² thought these coins to be of Hindustan. Mr. Walsh³ was of opinion that they were of the Nanda period and some were a couple of centuries older than the coins of Alexander the Great. I have noticed many coins similar to Taxila coins are found mixed with local coins in every hoard discovered in Behar (Magadha) or the United Provinces and other places, showing that the early Nandas and after them the Mauryans introduced their imperial coinage of 32 Rati standard weight, bearing the conspicuous figures of sun and a six pointed wheel "Sadarchakra" in the early 5th century B C, hence their coins are found from one end of the country to the other. I, therefore, conclude that the present coins belong to the early 4th century B C, before Mahāpadma Nanda conquered the Kurus who were then independent (about 366-338 B C). The coins were found in the District of Bijnor, which lies within the boundary of the ancient Brahmavarta or Kurukshetra region of the Kurus (*vide* Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, Map of Bhāratavarsha, pp. 514-515).

The coins may be taken to be the local coins of Kurukshetra, when it was an independent kingdom, and before Mahāpadma Nanda conquered it about the middle of the 4th century B C. The Panas of 32 Ratis and their halves were current then. It may be pointed out here that I have already assigned local silver punch-marked coins to different independent kingdoms of the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries B C, viz., to Kosala, Pañchāla, Surasena, Gandhāra, Kuntala, Saurāstra, and Andhra (*vide* Numismatic Supplement, Jubilee Number, XLVII, 1938).

The quantitative chemical analysis of coins of Classes I and II indicate a high percentage of silver in the alloy—about 80 per cent in coins of Class I and about 79.6 per cent in the coins of Class II, copper and other impurities being nearly 20 to 20.4 per cent respectively.

All the coins conform to 28 grains or 16 Ratis and are undoubtedly Ardha Panas, other hoards of Ardha Panas from different places are already known.

DURGA PRASAD

² Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1924-25, pp. 47-8

³ *JRAS*, 1937, pp. 614-615

RARE OBLONG COINS FROM RAJGIR

[Plate III-A]

A remarkable series of copper coins of oblong shape from Rajgir, the ancient Rājagriha, obviously issued at one and the same early period, appears to be a distinctly original contribution to ancient Indian coin types. That they are coins admits of little doubt as they have been found along with punch-marked and other early cast coins at Rajgir. For the same reason they must be considered to be of early date. In fact the uniform excellence of execution which distinguish these coins makes it probable that they are anterior to the rectangular cast coins with elephant and standard obverse and tree within railing accompanied by other symbols on the reverse, several varieties of which have been found at Rajgir as indeed in many other parts of Northern India, the execution of which in comparison is crude. The absence of any data makes it impossible to date the coins at present though systematic excavation at the site of ancient Rājagriha may help us to do so later on. For several weighty reasons I consider these extraordinary coins to be a series. They are of an uniform oblong shape and of the same size. In all of them the symbol figured on the coin is enclosed within a raised ornamental border formed by what look like the leaves of the date palm tree. It may be suggested that the border is formed of ears of corn but it is more likely that the border consists of date tree leaves. The date tree is found scattered throughout this part of the country and the leaves are to this day used as ornamental decorations of gateways etc., on festive occasions. The tree arch as a decorative motif is at least as old as Mohenjo Daro. The reverse side of all the coins is plain. An examination of the weight of different specimens in my cabinet shows that the coins fall into two groups—one group weighing approximately 51 grs. and the other consisting of thinner and lighter pieces weighing only about 31 grs. As regards weight also, therefore, these coins may be regarded as constituting a class by themselves. I give below a description of eleven varieties of this interesting and rare series which I have come across but before proceeding to do so I must correct an error in a recently published paper entitled "The Coins of Rajgir" the author of which has described them as "single-die coins". A careful examination of the coins, *e.g.*, No. 2, shows that they are em-

phatically *not* die-struck but are cast coins of rare workmanship. Of the varieties I have examined and described below, four only were known to S. Singh Roy, the writer of the above-mentioned paper, and have been described by him (NS, No. XLVI, Art. 329). Mr. M. B. L. Dar informs me that he has found coins similar to No. 1 at the old site of Ramnagar in Bareilly District. This only shows how wide was the circulation of coins even in ancient times. Similarly I have found coins generally assigned to Taxila along with finds from Rājgir.

- 1 *Obv*—Within a raised border formed by branches of the date palm a combination of four of the well-known symbols which have been variously described as sun and crescent, ball and crescent, taurine or Nandipada, and which it may be suggested is an elementary form of the *Trrratna* as illustrated in Pl. III, 1.

Rev—Plain

AE—S 55 × 45 Wt 51 grs

- 2 *Obv*—Within border as in No. 1 a combination of four of the same symbols but two of them are one below the other and two on either side as illustrated in Pl. III, 2.

Rev—Plain

AE—S 55 × 45 Wt 31 grs

- 3 *Obv*—Within raised border as in No. 1 an ornamental *Swastika* with the so-called taurine symbol on either side as illustrated in Pl. III, 3.

Rev—Plain

AE—S 55 × 45 Wt 28 grs

- 4 *Obv*—Within raised border as in No. 1 an ornamental symbol, which is evidently the '*Trrratna*' on a stand. An almost similar but more ornate symbol is to be found on the reverse of coins of Jishnu Gupta and Pasupati of Nepal (*vide* CCAI, Pl. XIII, 7). Two so-called taurines on either side. The coin is illustrated in Pl. III, 4.

Rev—Plain

AE—S 55 × 45 Wt 52 grs

- 5 *Obv*—Within raised border as in No. 1 a pair of scales with a rod on the r side—*vide* Pl. III, 5.

Rev—Plain

AE—S 55 × 45 Wt 31 grs

- 6 *Obv*—Within raised border as No 1 an ornamental design in the shape of a volute with raised uncertain object on l, which may be only a defect in casting, as illustrated in Pl III, 6 The design suggests a lotus bud with stalk in the form of a spiral

Rev—Plain

AE—S 55 × 45 Wt 33 grs

- 7 *Obv*—Within raised border as in No 1 figure of a nude woman facing front as illustrated in Pl III, 7, representing probably the *abbisheka* of Lakshmi although the elephants on either side of the head are not distinct

Rev—Plain

AE—S 55 × 45 Wt 51 grs

- 8 *Obv*—Within raised border as in No 1 stag standing facing l, taurine on l, as illustrated in Pl III, 8 I have suggested above that the so-called taurine may be an elementary form of the *Tiratna*, the most sacred of Buddhist symbols The presence of the symbol on this coin lends support to this suggestion as the stag is also associated with Buddhism

Rev—Plain

AE—S 55 × 45 Wt 51 grs

- 9 *Obv*—Within raised border as in No 1 a lady, probably a queen, wearing what looks like a crown, seated with her legs stretched in front, holding some object, which does not look like a lotus on three specimens I have examined, in her right hand A male figure is facing her with hands clasped On some coins there is a curved line which looks like a tail and hence the figure has been supposed to be a monkey, but this is not certain as on one coin the line looks like a leg The seated figure occupies the r side and the other figure the l of the coin which is illustrated in Pl III, 9

Rev—Plain

AE—S 55 × 45 Wt 30 grs

- 10 S Singh Roy illustrates in his article above referred to (NS, Art 329, Pl No 1, No 4) a coin similar to No 9 above but slightly smaller and with the figures transposed As in the

case of the other three oblong coins described by him he unfortunately omits to give any information as regards the size or weight of the coin

11 *Obv* —Same as No 5 but the rod is on the l side

Rev —Plain.

AE —S 55 × 45 Wt 50 grs

Nos 2, 8 and 9 on Pl III, are reproduced from coins in the cabinet of Mr Bahadur Singh Singhi, the remainder are in my own collection

I have now acquired a small, irregular and much worn coin of type No 8, weighing only 15 grs, which seems to be an exception to the series

AJIT GHOSE

A RARE GOLD COIN OF HUVISHKA

[Plate III-B]

The coin which is published¹ and discussed in this note is in the collection of Mr C J Shah, M A, and may be described as follows

AV


124.5 grains

S 0.8 inches

Obv —Half-length, nimbate figure of the King to left, rising from "clouds", dressed in armour and round jewelled helmet (both indistinct because worn out), with flames coming out from his left shoulder (?), 'club' or 'ankusa', or an 'ear of corn' in the right hand, in the left a spear²

Legend on the left PAONANOPAO (OO the rest of the letters cut out in the die) i.e., Shaonano shao Ho (Veshki Koshano), "The King of Kings Huvishka, the Kushān"

Rev —'God of War'³ (ARES)⁴ nimbate standing to the right, wearing Greek type of helmet and armour, holding a spear in the right hand, and the left hand resting on shield

Monogram  to the right

Legend (beginning on the right from above the monogram) PAO, (then the god's head and going over and down to the left) PHOPO i.e., PAOPHOPO i.e., Shroreoro = Iranian Shāhrewar

¹ Pl III-B

² Cf Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1892, Series III, Vol XII, Bust type B, pl ix

³ As called by Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol I, p 79

⁴ Smith, *Ibid.*, and Gardner, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum*, 1886, p 148. Cunningham, *op cit* 1892, p 46-7 agreed with the view which regarded this god as the God of Wealth and the Lord of Metals and equated him with the Avestan Ksathra-vairya and identified him with the Indian Airavira or Kuvera. Further, on p 62, n 14, he said that as the god and his wife Riddhi presided over *metals* they were represented in armour

(1) For two reasons it may be called a rare¹ coin of Huvishka. The 'Sharewar' type is not as common as some other types of Huvishka and the present coin is from a hitherto unpublished die. The British Museum² has two coins of this type with the god facing r, and one slightly different³ in which he faces l.

(2) In all published specimens, the god's name appears complete in a straight or curved line either on the left or on the right, whereas in our coin the name begins from the left, from above the monogram and ends on the right, a portion being on either side of the figure. This in fact is the really important feature of this coin.

It is interesting to note that the king looks taller and thinner on this coin than on the coins published by Smith,⁴ Gardner,⁵ Cunningham⁶ and Fleet.⁷ Our coin also seems to have been considerably used as the legend, king's figure, god's armour, and shield are rather indistinct due to wear and tear.

H. D. SANKALIA

1 Smith, *op cit.* p. 79. The Lahore Museum, when Whitehead wrote (*Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, 1914, p. 207), did not possess a single coin of this variety, nor has a coin of this type been published in any of the recognised journals since these catalogues were published.

2 Gardner, *op cit.*, p. 148, pl. xxviii, 17 and 19, Cunningham, *op cit.*, pl. xxii, 8-9.

3 *Ibid.*, pl. xxviii, 18, *Ibid.*, pl. xxiv, 10.

4 *Op cit.*, pl. xii, 8, 10, 14, 15.

5 *Op cit.*, pl. xxii, 9.

6 *Op cit.*, pl. ix and *JASB*, Vol. xii, p. 434-35, figs. 2 and 3.

7 *JRAS* 1908, pl. 1.

SOME REMARKS ON THE COINS OF THE ANDHRA PERIOD

The Andhra period of ancient Indian history offers many interesting problems for study. In examining the coins and inscriptions associated with the Andhras one comes across such titles as *īājā*, *svāmi*, *rāstrapati*, e g, *dakṣiṇapathīpati*, *kstrapa*, *mahākstrapa* etc. In this connection the distinction between what we call a 'king' in English and a *rājā* should be borne in mind. A 'king' is an independent ruler whereas a *rājā* is not necessarily so. The title *rājā* should not therefore be translated as 'king'. Much confusion has resulted from this. The titles *mahārāja*, *rājadhīrāja* and *mahārājadhīrāja* on the other hand have often been used as epithets of sovereignty. At the present time there has been a degradation of these terms also so that *mahārājas* and *mahārājadhīrājas* exist who are merely landlords.

It seems that during the Andhra period the titles *kstrapa* and *mahākstrapa* were originally used by provincial rulers of Parthian or Scythian descent acknowledging suzerainty of some paramount power. Very likely their relations with the paramount power consisted merely in the payment of tribute of some sort. They were free to mint their own coins, wage war against neighbouring provinces and act in any other way they liked. It is probable that a *kstrapa* was often subordinate to a *mahākstrapa* who was the direct tributary of the paramount power. A *mahākstrapa* might have several *kstrapas* under him. Sometimes a *kstrapa* would wage war on other *kstrapas* and usurp their dominions and, perhaps by paying a higher tribute to the paramount power, would be recognized as a *mahākstrapa*. *Mahākstrapas* and *kstrapas* often ruled contemporaneously (*Rapson, E J, Cat. of the Coins of the Andhras in the B M*, p. xxvii n). It appears also that the paramount power did not bother itself as to who became the *kstrapa* or *mahākstrapa* of a particular province so long as it received the stipulated tribute.

In later periods, rulers of Indian descent also sometimes styled themselves *kstrapas* or *mahākstrapas* after having ousted rulers of Scythian descent from their possessions. Perhaps the association of these titles with a particular province was so firm owing to long continued rule by foreigners to whom the epithets properly belonged that when any Indian stepped into their place he found it more convenient to use the same designations in state matters as those of his predecessors. The facts collected about

the western satraps of the Andhra period by Rapson (*Op cit*, c, ci) would serve to support the validity of the above assumptions.

Rulers of different provinces under a paramount power in ancient India can be placed under different classes. In the first place, we might have kings who had lost their original independence as a result of aggrandisement of the paramount power and had become tributary to it. In describing Raghu's conquests, Kalidasa compares such defeated kings with the paddy plant which yields grains when uprooted and planted again. The conqueror who after defeating an independent king reinstated him as tributary has been called 'dharmavijayi' or the righteous conqueror (*Raghuvamśa*, 4 37-43). In the second place, provincial rulers of one paramount power might transfer their allegiance to another as a result of military conquest by the latter. Greek satrapies under Seleukus were transferred to Chandragupta after the defeat of the former. In the third place, special officials might be appointed by the paramount power to rule over certain provinces, e.g. a military commander might be appointed as a governor in a province liable to invasions by other powers (Kaniska's *governors*). Fourthly, princes of the royal blood and relations of the royal family might be appointed irrespective of their merits in certain provinces. Sometimes minor princes occupied the position of provincial rulers under the protection of some elderly person of the royal blood. Khāravēla's inscription records that he was a Yuvarāj at sixteen.

It is conceivable that a prince of the royal line in his capacity as a provincial ruler might come into conflict with a neighbouring governor under the same paramount power just as different kshatras might fight among themselves and it is further conceivable that the paramount power would remain neutral in such fights so long as it received its revenues from one party or another. The posts of provincial governors, except in the cases of the princes of the royal blood who would succeed to the throne of the paramount ruler, were generally hereditary. An examination of the coin legends and inscriptions of the Andhra period shows that the prefix "śri" was used only by persons of the royal family. The satraps, although they called themselves 'rājās', did not put the honorific 'śri' before their names, on the other hand we find legends of royal personages in which only 'śri' occurs and no 'rājā', the title 'rājā' without the 'śri' was very likely confined to provincial rulers only and when it is found associated with a 'śri' it is even then no bar to the supposition that the person of the royal blood might have been a provincial

governor at the time the coin bearing the legend was struck or the inscription carved

The provincial rulers during the Andhra period issued coins and it is quite likely that a prince of the royal blood also issued coins in his own name during the period of his provincial governorship. Rapson writes—"Indian coin types are essentially local in character. At no period with which we are acquainted, whether in the history of ancient or of mediaeval India, has the same kind of coinage been current throughout any of the great empires. Each province of such an empire has, as a rule, retained its own peculiar coinage, and this with so much conservatism in regard to the types and the fabric of the coins, that the main characteristics of these have often remained unchanged, not only by changes of dynasty but even by the transference of power from one race to another" (Rapson, *op cit*, pp. xi, xii). The obvious conclusion that can be drawn from the facts noted by Rapson is that the paramount power never troubled itself with the issue of coins—a function which was left to the discretion of the provincial rulers. The central government, it seems, before the Guptas at any rate, did not attach much importance to the minting of coins and in the case of big empires it is doubtful whether any special central imperial coin was ever issued. This would explain the absence of any coin bearing the name of emperors such as Asoka on the one hand and the great preponderance of coins belonging to the satraps on the other. The conservatism in coin types that Rapson has noticed would make any guess regarding the age of a particular type of script on any coin in the absence of dates a hazardous game.

In view of the indifference of the central government to provincial coins it is extremely unlikely that the imperial power would think of restriking any coin to commemorate any victory as has been supposed in the case of the restruck coins of Nahapāna. It is practically impossible for any imperial power to call back all coins of a particular type in circulation merely for the purpose of restriking them. This method of commemorating a victory, to say the least, can only attain partial success. Then again in considering the problem of the restriking of coins one has to remember that of three Andhra kings Vāsisthiputra Vīlīvāyakura, Mātharīputra Sīvālakura and Gautamīputra Vīlīvāyakura, all apparently belonging to the same family, each of the last two restruck coins of his predecessor or predecessors. There is no evidence to show that this was done to commemorate any victory of one over the other or others.

Double struck coins belong to the same category as restruck coins. Such coins of Gautamīputra Vilivāyakura and of Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarni have been found. Restruck punch-marked coins have also been found suggesting the possibility that the restriking was done when the original markings got effaced by usage (*Walsh Punch-marked silver coins, their standard of weight, age and mint, IRAS, 1937, Apr*). In view of these considerations the argument that restriking of a coin by another king is a proof of military victory on his part loses much of its force. It is difficult to say in the absence of any definite information what might have led to the restriking of particular coins. The hypothesis of military victory is only one possibility among many, and this hypothesis fails altogether when applied to double struck coins and to restriking by successive kings belonging to the same family. It is probable that just as we have special coronation medals struck at the time of accession of kings at the present time, coins were similarly restruck in ancient times on special occasions for distribution as alms etc. This would explain the presence of coins that have been restruck by a king of the same family as the one issuing the original coin and also of double struck coins bearing the same legend of the same king twice. This explanation will be especially applicable to those cases in which there is no sign of any effacement of the original stamping due to usage. Effacement of the original markings, whether as a result of usage or of any other factor, will very likely account for restriking in a certain percentage of cases as has already been stated.

The denominational values of ancient coins were very likely in the majority of cases greater than their intrinsic values. If anybody was fortunate enough to discover a hoard of coins belonging to a former reign in those days the only way to utilize the coins profitably would be to get them restamped with the current legend by the state mint and release them for circulation. Melting the coins would not be a business proposal. It is mentioned in *Manusamhitā* and *Mitāksarā* that if any person, other than a learned brahmin, discovers a hidden treasure the king shall appropriate one-sixth or one-twelfth of the amount. A learned brahmin discoverer of a hoard may keep the whole of it for himself. If anybody fails to intimate the discovery of a treasure hoard to the state he shall forfeit the whole of it, and the king shall punish the discoverer suitably (*Manu* 8 35 39 *Mitāksarā-Vyavahārādhyaya* 34, 35). It is therefore quite likely that in the event of a discovery of a hoard of coins, not current

at the time, the government would restamp the coins, take a part of the same for its own coffers and give the rest to the discoverer.

Since the title 'rājā' was very likely associated with provincial governorship any inscription or coin legend bearing that title conjointly with the royal prefix 'Śrī' would indicate that it was executed during the period of provincial reign of the prince. In the case of Yajña Śrī of the Puranas, about whose identification with Gautamiputra Svāmī Śrī Yajña Sātakarnī of the inscriptions not much doubt exists, the Puranas record a regnal period of nine years only while we find from inscriptions that he reigned for at least twenty seven years. A long period of provincial rule was not likely to be followed by another long period of imperial reign except in the case of a prince who happened to have ruled as a minor under the guardianship of somebody else during his governorship. If we assume that Yajña Śrī had been a provincial ruler before he became a king and that the inscription mentioning the 27th year of his reign (*Rapson, op cit*, p. LII) was incised during this period we can get the total period of Yajña Śrī's reign by adding the minimum of 27 years as governor to 9 years as an imperial ruler as mentioned in the Puranas. There is the other possibility that the inscription was carved while Yajña Śrī was an imperial ruler, this would give a minimum of 18 years as the period of his provincial reign. The large variety of the coins that Yajña Śrī struck is, from this standpoint, to be considered as a corroborative evidence of his long period of provincial governorship at different places. As mentioned before no coin of Yajña Śrī is to be expected for the period of his reign as the paramount lord.

Gautamiputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarnī like his illustrious ancestor and namesake Gautamiputra Śrī Sātakarnī, the 6th Andhra king, was a powerful monarch. The variety of his coins and the extent of their provenance clearly show his superior position among the Andhra kings. For some reason which cannot be definitely specified restruck and double struck Andhra coins begin to make their appearance from the time of the Vīlīvāyakuras downwards. The restruck coins of Nahapāna, however, are generally ascribed to Gautamiputra Sātakarnī, the sixth king, wrongly supposed to be the 23rd king. I have an impression that these coins, all of which, without any exception, are to be traced to a single hoard viz., the Joghalembhi find, were restruck at the time of Yajña Śrī. Many years had elapsed at the time of Yajña Śrī since Nahapāna issued his coins. Somebody found the hoard and had a portion of them restruck in order to be able to

use the coins. That there was no original coin of Gautamiputra or of anybody else in the hoard is a strong proof of the fact that the re-stamping was done after the hoard had been found. Nahapāna's coins seem to have been restruck with different dies. It is likely that in order to avoid the confiscation of any part of the hoard by the state under the treasure-trove act of the times the discoverer was getting the coins re-stamped in small quantities in different places representing them to be his heirloom. This must have been a slow process. The discoverer died leaving the hoard hidden, and a part of it unstamped. Scott writes — "The great variety of dies used in making the counter impression is as noticeable as the variety in the case of Nahapāna's coins to which I have drawn attention. The work was evidently done by many different workmen, of very different abilities, and probably at many different places" (*Rev H R Scott The Nasik-Joghaltembbi Hoard of Nahapāna's coins J B B R A S Vol XXII*, p. 241). Rapson writes — "The latter class (restruck coins of Nahapāna), which comprises more than two-thirds of the total number of coins found, has, struck over the ordinary types of Nahapāna, the Andhra types, obv, 'Chaitya with inscri' rev 'Ujjain symbol', which appear together on lead coins of Pulumāvi, Śiva Śrī, Chanda Śatī and Śrī Yajña, but which had not previously been found associated on coins of Gautamiputra Śātakarni. So far as is known at present, these types were not used for any independent silver coinage, but were simply employed for the purpose of re-issuing the existing currency" (*Rapson, op cit*, p. lxxxix).

The facts noted above will be best explained by the supposition that Gautamiputra Śrī Śātakarni did not issue any coin having ascended the imperial throne without a probationary period of provincial governorship. On the other hand Yajña Śrī had a long period of provincial reign viz., 18 years or more, and it is he that is responsible for all the coins bearing the legend 'Gautamiputra Śrī Śātakarni'. The conch-shell symbol, if it has been correctly deciphered, that exists in the coin ascribed to Gautamiputra Śrī Śātakarni (*Rapson, op cit*, p. 17) is peculiar to Gautamiputra Yajña Śrī Śātakarni, this is another argument in favour of the assertion that Gautamiputra Śrī Śātakarni, the 6th king, the so-called conqueror of Nahapāna, did not mint any coin at all.

I should like to point out that king Kṛṣṇa of the Nasik inscription (Luders No. 1144) and of the coin (*Rapson, op cit*, p. 48) may not after all be the second Pauranic king of the same

name There is another Kṛṣṇa apparently of the Satavāhana sub-clan, in the Paurāṇic list viz, No 16 who has been called Nemikṛṣṇa (Vāyu) or Gorakṣakṛṣṇa (Viṣṇu-Purāṇa—Wilson). He may very well be the person mentioned in the inscription and the coin. Martin has described two coins of Pulumavi with the legends 'Śiva Śrī Pulumaviśa' and 'Vasisthiputa Śiva Śrī Pulumaviśa' respectively (JASB Num Sup, 1934 No 318 p 61 N). These coins raise grave doubts about the hitherto accepted identifications of the several Pulumavis appearing in the Paurāṇic list, in view of this find, ascribing a particular coin to a particular Pulumavi becomes a very difficult if not an impossible task. There is nothing to show in the coins themselves whether all of them that have the legend Pulumavi belong to the same king or to different kings bearing the same name. The name found in Martin's coins 'Śivaśrī' suggests the later Andhras. According to the Anandāśram Matsya the name of the 25th king is Śivaśrī Puloma, Viṣṇu calls him Śitakarni Śivaśrī, the Radcliff manuscript calls him simply Śivaśrī. Very likely the coins with the legend 'Vasisthiputra Śiva Śrī Pulumavi' are to be ascribed to this king. K N Dikshit has lately described a copper coin with the legend 'Rano Śivaśrīs Āpilakasa' (JASB Num Sup XLVII pp 93, 94 N). This coin may be ascribed to the eighth king tentatively.

GIRINDRASEKHAR BOSE

WAS JĪVADĀMAN A MAHĀKSATRAPA MORE THAN ONCE ?

[Plate III-C]

The relations between Jīvadāman and his uncle Rudrasimha I are still shrouded in mystery. The numismatic data on the point are insufficient and inconclusive and have given rise to divergent interpretations. Rapson has advanced the view that Jīvadāman was a Mahāksatrapa more than once. There is no doubt that he was occupying this exalted position during the Śaka years 118 and 119. Numismatic evidence is clear on the point and has been accepted by all. Rapson however holds that it is almost certain that he was a Mahāksatrapa in the Śaka year 100, and that it is very probable that he had again acquired this high office during the years 110-12. He admits that there are no coins found so far which prove definitely that Jīvadāman was a Mahāksatrapa during this period, but since his uncle Rudrasimha issues coins during this period only with the title Ksatrapa, it may be presumed that he was reduced to this lower position by the successful reassertion of power by Jīvadāman. Rapson recognises the possibility of a foreign power reducing Rudrasimha to a subordinate position, but holds that this is not probable.

Dr Bhandarkar and Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit dissent from this view. They attribute the degradation of Rudrasimha during the years 110-112 to the successful invasion of Išvara-datta Abhira, they doubt whether Jīvadāman was at all a Mahāksatrapa during the years 100-103. They point out that even Rapson concedes the possibility of a unit or decimal figure, or both, having vanished from the coin in question. They therefore hold that Jīvadāman became a Mahāksatrapa only after the year 118.

If, however, we examine the coins concerned very carefully from Rapson's Catalogue, Plate XI, we are driven to the conclusion that Jīvadāman must have been a Mahāksatrapa during two periods separated from each other by a fairly long interval. It is no doubt true that it is not impossible that a figure for a unit or a decimal or both may have disappeared from the coin No. 288, Pl. XI, of Rapson's Catalogue, this mere possibility is, however, altogether negatived by the evidence of features, which has escaped the attention of both Dr Bhandarkar and

Prof Rapson Coins Nos 289 to 291 of Rapson's Catalogue were issued during the years 118-119, the features of Jivādāman as shown on them, are decidedly old-looking and careworn (see Plate III-C, 2-3) On the other hand, on the coin number 288, Jivādāman is portrayed as an energetic, full blooded and youthful ruler, whose age could not then have been more than 25 or 30 at the most (see Plate III-C, 1) The age worn features on the coins issued during the year 118-119 show that Jivādāman then could not have been less than 45 It is thus clear that the coin No 288 must have been issued at least 15 to 20 years earlier than the coins Nos 289-291, which are definitely known to have been issued sometimes during the period 100-103 It is, therefore, hardly possible that it could have had any figure for the decimal

Can we rely on the evidence of features for determining this important point? Were features so accurately portrayed by Ksatrapa mint-masters as to warrant a conclusion about the age of the monarchs at the time of the issue of the coins concerned? The question has to be answered in the affirmative at least as far as the early period of the Ksatrapa dynasty is concerned Rudrashimha I ruled as a Mahāksatrapa for about 15 years with an interval of two years His features on the coins issued in the years 105-6 are decidedly much younger than those on his coins issued in 118 or 119 (See Rapson, Pl XI, Nos 295-6, and 320, 321) Rudrasena I ruled for 23 years, we find similar difference in features between his early and late coins (Rapson, *Ibid*, Pl XII, cf No 328 issued in the year 121 with No 362 issued in the year 139)

The evidence of features of the bust thus proves that Jivādāman was a Mahāksatrapa early in his life during the period 100-103, when he was a young man of about 30 It is clear that he was superseded in 103 by his uncle Rudrasimha I, who continued to keep him out of his inheritance down to the year 118 It would appear that he died in that year, and then only it became possible for Jivādāman to ascend the throne once more as a Mahāksatrapa Whether during the period 110-112 Rudrasimha was reduced to the subordinate rank of 1 Ksatrapa by Jivādāman or by Īśvaradatta Ābhīta is a question that can be satisfactorily solved only by further discoveries of coins

IMPORTANT COINS FROM BARODA STATE

[Plate IV]

The object of this paper is to place before scholars information regarding the varieties of pre-Muhammadan Indian coins so far discovered in the state including some new types of coins that the Archæological Department of Baroda has come across and their find-spots. Some of the coins are, as far as I can ascertain, quite new and not met with in any of the published catalogues of Indian coins. Such coins I have tentatively classed as tribal and a full description of them is given at the end so that more experienced numismatists may be enabled to pronounce their opinion about them. Baroda yielded ancient coins, especially of the Western Ksatrapas, as far back as 1876, when they were found while digging the foundation of the New Central Jail and the Baroda College. The inauguration of the Archæological Department in Baroda under the kind patronage of H H the late Maharaja Sayajirao III and his enlightened Dewan, Sir V T Krishnamachariar, has given an added stimulus to the scientific study of coins and other archæological finds in Baroda. The present article is due to the opportunities I had of studying the pre-Muhammadan coins under my *Guru*, Dr Hirānanda Śāstri, the head of the Baroda Archæological Department. The coins from Amreli were secured by Dr Śāstri either by excavation or purchase, and those from Kāmrej (Navasari District), the ancient Kamanē of Ptolemy (*cir* 150 A D), mainly by presentation. Amreli is head-quarters of the *taluk* of that name of the Baroda State and is situated in southern Kāthiāwād. As elsewhere the rainy season brings antiquities to the surface of ancient sites in this locality and enthusiastic local collectors of antiquities, like Mr Prataprai Mehta, have been known to store such finds for a very long period. This place has yielded us 2 Avanti or Ujjain coins, an Andhra (?), piece (?), several silver, copper, potin and lead coins of the Western Ksatrapas and a hoard of 2,000 silver coins of Kumāragupta I. Of these the Avanti and Ksatrapa coins are important finds. The find of the former coins at Amreli is unique as Avanti coins have so far not been obtained in Saurāstra, though at least under Valabhi rule Saurāstra and Ujjain are known to have been under one rule. Even in the Maurya and later days Ujjain was the seat of the viceroyalty governing the Western provinces including Kāthiāwād. These coins are assigned roughly to about 200

B C Among the Ksatrapa coins found at Amreli there are silver coins of Rudrasena I, one silver piece of Viśvasinha and 2 silver coins of Svāmī Rudrasena III. The rest are either square lead pieces of Svāmī Rudrasena III, or nameless potin coins of Viṇḍāman (*cir* Saka 157) and a few copper coins of a totally new variety. A good many square lead pieces are defaced and blank on both the sides. In shape and weight they definitely resemble the known lead pieces of Svāmī Rudrasena III. Although Āndhra rule was established over Sorath or Kāthiāwād for a short time, as is evidenced by the Nasik cave inscription of Queen Balisī, it is not possible in my opinion, to attribute these coins to the Āndhras as no Āndhra coins of similar shape and weight are known. It is safer to attribute them to Svāmī Rudrasena III. Important Ksatrapa coins are described in detail in this paper.

Kāmrej is the head-quarters of a *taluk* of that name of the Navisari District of the Baroda Raj. It is situated on the banks of the Tāpi about 25 miles from its mouth. Kāmrej and another town named Kathor near it have given us coins of many varieties. Indeed Kāmrej must have been an important trade centre, perhaps next to Bhrigukaccha, where currency of sorts was used. Ptolemy mentions it as Kamanē and Kamanija as its name according to the Rīshtrakūta giants. The earliest coins secured from this place are 17 punch-marked coins or *Kāśāpanas*. Some of them are of silver and the rest of copper. They are either circular or square in shape. They can be assigned to the later period of punch-marked coins which are generally assigned to *cir* 300 B C. The other varieties found here consist of Avanti coins, rectangular cast coins, anomalous circular cast coins, Āndhra pieces, Ksatrapa coins, Traikūṭaka, Gupta and Vīlabhi varieties, Gadhāiyas and 27 unassignable coins, which have been tentatively classed as tribal. The coins of the last variety cannot be ascribed to any known dynasty. They have on either side symbols not met with elsewhere.

The twenty-six coins described below and illustrated in the plate are of rare types.

I. Avanti or Ujjain coins —

Pl IV, 1. Æ, 30 grs., Kāmrej

Obv — A vase, railing of a tree

Rev — *Svastika* with bars attached to the ends of the cross bars, turned to the left

This turn to the left is generally considered inauspicious. The *Svastika* is a very ancient symbol and can be traced back to the Indus Valley.

Civilization period We know of punch-marked Avanti and other coins having 1 *Svastika* with 1 turn to the right As far as I can ascertain this coin and the coin No 9 described below are the only examples of later coins showing the *svastika* symbol with a turn to the left This turn to the left was in vogue in pre-historic times as is evident from a majority of the Mohenjo-Daro seals (Marshall, Sir J., Mohenjo-Daro, Pl XIV, 502, 508, 506 and 515)

Pl IV, 2 Æ, 60 grs, Kāmrej

Obv—A three-headed standing deity with a staff in the right hand and a *kamandalu* in the left—god Mahākālā (?), tree to the right

Rev—Part of 'taurine' symbol, a frog with long nails and without the bulging head

The three-headed deity and the tree are to be seen on the obverse of a small circular coin illustrated by Cunningham in his *Coins of Ancient India*, Pl X 6, and the frog is observed in the same book Pl X 13 So our square coin gives us a new type with the obverse and the reverse combined from two different coins in one We see a frog represented in some Mohenjo-Daro seals, e.g., CXVIII, No 10 of Vol III of Sir John Marshall's book, and on punch-marked coins Thus again ancient pre-historic traditions are continued in the Avanti coins See coin No 1 above

Pl IV, 3 Æ, circular, 29 grs, Kāmrej

Obv—Hill, dots, crescents, a trident on a base—to its staff is added the sharp edge of an axe (Cf *Coins of Ancient India*, Pl XII 12)

Rev—Dotted circular border, dots, tree, etc

Pl IV, 4 Æ, sq, 14 grs, Kāmrej

Obv—Sun-symbol consisting of arrow-heads attached to the central boss, railing of a tree to its right

Rev—*Svastika* with crescents attached to the ends of the bars turned to the right

The symbol on the obverse is found on late punch-marked coins and Mr Durga Prasad calls it a *shadara-chakra*

Pl IV 5 Æ, sq, 37 grs, Kāmrej

Obv—On the *obverse* we have a three-headed deity, pos-

sibly Mahākāla, with 1 staff in the right hand and a *kamandalu* in the left—it is now not visible

Rev — On the *reverse* we have the Ujjain symbol with crosses in circles

This coin is noteworthy on account of the combination of crosses with the plain usual Ujjain symbol. But for this feature it resembles the coin in *CAI* Pl X, 6

Pl IV, 6 Æ, sq, 71 grs, Kāmrej Cf *CAI* Pl X, 5

Obv — Three-headed deity with a crescent-topped staff in his right hand and a *kamandalu* in the left, tree to the right, some indistinct symbols

Rev — 3 'taurine' symbols, part of 1 frog

Pl IV, 7 Æ, cir, 32 grs, Kāmrej

Obv — On the *obverse* of this circular coin we have 1 human figure squatting in the oriental fashion beside 1 tree surrounded by 1 railing. Below the figure is probably 1 seat

Rev — On the *reverse* we have 1 circular border of the 'taurine' symbols, a circle, inside the circle there is the Ujjain symbol in the circles of which there are dots. Taurine symbols alternate with the circles or dots of the Ujjain symbol

Whereas in the coin described by Cunningham in *CAI* Pl X, 10, the tree in railing is to the right of the figure, in our coin it is to its left. Cunningham's coin shows no circular border of the taurine symbols. Thus this coin is an interesting new type

Pl IV, 8 Æ, sq, 42 grs, Kāmrej

Obv — On the *obverse* of this coin we see a man squatting and to his left is 1 tree within railing. There are some indistinct symbols

Rev — On the *reverse* there is the Ujjain symbol with *bindus* or dots in its circles

Pl IV, 9 Æ, cir, 21 grs, Kāmrej

Obv — On the *obverse* is a *svastika* with part of dotted border

Rev — On the *reverse* we have 1 vase in a border of dots or *bindu-mālā*. Here as in coin No. 1 the bars attached to the intersecting lines are turned to the left

II Anonymous Cast Coins

Pl IV, 10 Æ, cir, 33 grs, Kāmrej

Obv — 3-arched *chaitya* with a crescent above

Rev — Elephant facing left with a rider on its back

The main interest of this coin is that the rider is clearly seen and this feature had not been noticed before either by Cunningham or Smith

III Ksatrapa Coins

Both Amreli and Kāmrej have given us new and interesting specimens of Ksatrapa coins. I notice here only important pieces

Pl IV 11 Viradāman (?), potin, 13 grs, Amreli

Obv — Defaced

Rev — Traces of a *chaitya*, wavy line, date 157

Pl IV, 12 Viradāman (?), potin, 19 grs, Amreli

Obv — Defaced, faint traces of an elephant

Rev — 3-arched *chaitya*, wavy line, date 158

These two interesting coins were purchased at Amreli. Though they bear no name of the king, the dates read would show that they belong to the reign of Ksatrapa Viradāman. Prof Ripson on pp 122-23 of his *Catalogue of Indian Coins Andhras and Western Ksatrapas* has described similar coins and has remarked that they belong to a period after 158 (= 236 A D). He had not succeeded in reading a date on any of the coins he has described. But, eminent numismatist as he was, he has ascribed with remarkable accuracy the coins to 158 and after of the Śaka era. In foot-note 2 on page 122 he remarks—"In place of the date some meaningless dots appear in the exergue." The coins described by me have a defaced obverse and consequently fail to show the elephant described by Rapson. But the reverse is quite clear and I have read the dates which to Rapson appeared as dots in the exergue. The earliest date read by me is 157 which is one year earlier than 158 after which Rapson has proposed to date this type of coins.

Pl IV, 13 S Rudrasena III, lead, 9 grs, Amreli

Obv — Bull facing left

Rev — Hill with clusters of stars on both sides and over the top, date at the bottom reads 28—

Here and in coin No 15 below the bull on

the *obverse* is seen facing left. In the published coins of this king the bull is seen facing right only. This is an interesting feature which makes this coin of a new type.

Pl IV, 14 S Rudrasena III, lead, 50 grs, Amreli

Obv—Bull facing right, Sun over its back, wavy line at the bottom

Rev—Hill, crescent over its top, wavy line at the bottom, and date below it reads 291

Pl IV, 15 S Rudrasena III, lead, 48 grs, Amreli

Obv—Bull facing left

Rev—Hill, stars etc

Pl IV, 16 Svāmī Rudrasena III (cf Rapson, Pl XVII 889 890) Lead, 39 grs Kāmrej

Obv—Humped bull standing facing right, sq border of dots, a crescent and two unidentified symbols above the bull

Rev—*Chaitya* or hill, wavy line, the Sun and the Moon a *triśūla*, dotted border, date below *Chaitya* 28— This addition of a *triśūla* on the reverse makes this coin interesting and it is, therefore, of a new type

Pl IV, 17 S Rudrasena III Æ, 21 grs, Amreli

Obv—Bull facing right

Rev—Dotted square border, 3-arched *Chaitya*, stars, wavy lines, traces of date [2]8—

This is a rare copper coin. From the date read it would be seen that it belongs to the reign of Svāmī Rudrasena III, and it resembles in its symbols the lead coins of that king. No copper coins of this king are known. For similar lead coins see Rapson's *Catalogue of Indian Coins Andhras and Western Ksatrapas*, Plate XVII, Nos 389, 390. Copper square coins are illustrated on Plate XII, Nos 326-327 of the same work. The essential difference is that in our coins the bull faces right, while there it faces front. Those coins are described by Rapson as without name and date and assigned to a much earlier period i.e., the second half of the second century A.D. The date of our coin partially read and its resemblance to the lead coins lead me to attribute it to Svāmī Rudrasena III.

Pl IV 18 Ksatrapa Æ, 49 grs, Kāmrej

Obv — Six-peaked hill with a crescent above it, date indistinct

Rev — The Sun in the centre with legend in *Brāhmī* round it — *Rājāo Mahāksatra* This is a rare type of Kṣatrapa coin with a six-arched hill and the Sun symbol

IV Unassignable or Tribal Coins

Pl IV, 19 Æ, cu, 16 grs, Kāmrej

Obv — Sun symbol

Rev — Legend in *Brāhmī* "*Parama*" The Sun-symbol is found in punch-marked coins also The *Brāhmī* of the legend is of the early centuries of the Christian era

Pl IV, 20 Potin, rectangular, 79 grs, Kāmrej

Obv — Sun-symbol as on the Ujjain coins, bull to its left facing right

Rev — Defaced

Pl IV, 21 Potin, sq, 61 grs, Kāmrej

Obv — Wheel or *dharmachakra* (?), square dotted border This symbol is found on Punch-marked coins also

Rev — Square dotted border and circular spot or dot in relief

Pl IV, 22 Potin, sq, 59 grs, Kāmrej

Obv — A squatting female in dotted circular border

Rev — Dotted square border with some floral design inside

Pl IV, 23 Æ, sq, 80 grs, Kāmrej

Obv — Horse facing right with a *svastika* over its head

Rev — Blank

Pl IV, 24 Æ, circular, 17 grs, Kāmrej

Obv — *Śaṅkha* in the centre and some illegible legend round it

Rev — Dotted circular border with the word '*Charitra*' in *Brāhmī* inside it

Pl IV, 25 Æ, cir, 27 grs, Kāmrej

Obv — Dotted and plain circular borders, with a swan inside

Rev — Dotted circular border with a *trīśūla* at the centre

Pl IV, 26 Æ, sq 48 grs, Kāmrej

Obv — Dotted square border with a flower inside

Rev — Dotted square border with probably a crude representation of a man inside

A UNIQUE HALF DĪNĀR OF CHANDRAGUPTA II

[Plate V-A]

A few months back this coin was offered to and acquired by the Prince of Wales Museum. It is a half piece of Chandragupta II, Archer type. It is in a good state of preservation and on closer and detailed examination, it is found to be a genuine piece. The technique as well as the workmanship is quite up to the mark and there are signs of ample wear and tear on both sides.

Weight—57.5 Gms. Size—6

Obv.—King standing left, nimbate, holding bow in left hand and arrow in right. Garuda standard on left.
Legend 'Chandra' with letters one below the other under left arm between the thigh and the body.

Rev.—Goddess, nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding fillet in outstretched right hand and lotus in left hand.
Lower stroke of 'Kra' of 'Śrī Vikrama' near the left elbow.

Smaller denominations of coins are to be had in India both before and after the Gupta coinage and their sudden disappearance during the Gupta period is almost inexplicable, the more so because full coins are to be had in such large numbers throughout the limits of the Gupta empire. It was believed that most probably Gupta princes never issued smaller denominations. I was hesitating a lot before putting this coin before the numismatic world. I wrote to some of my friends, who are either collectors of Gupta coins or have specialised in them. Mr. Durgā Prasād informs me that half dinārs of Kumāragupta, horseman type, are known and one such is with Mr. Śrī Nāth Sāh of Benares¹. All others have expressed their ignorance of the existence of half dinārs of this type. Unfortunately I could not get the specimen of Mr. Śrī Nāth Sāh and hence I am unable to give any particulars of that coin.

G. V. ACHARYA

¹ Mr. Śrī Nāth Sāh's coin is not a half dinar as the weight of the piece is the same as of the average Gupta gold coin, though the size is about half the usual size, it being a thicker coin.—Ed., JNSI

A NEW VARIETY OF THE LION SLAYER TYPE OF CHANDRAGUPTA II

[Plate V-B]

The Lion-slayer type of Chandragupta II forms such an interesting series among Gupta coins that any variety unnoticed before is worth recording. In Numismatic Supplement No XLVI, Art. 332, II, I drew attention to the "Dagger variety" of Samudragupta's Standard type. I have since acquired a beautiful specimen of Chandragupta II's Lion Slayer type, Class I, VII a, in which the king is represented as wearing a dagger slant on his right side. Particulars of the coin are given below.

AV S 8 Wt 123 grains

Obv—King standing dressed in wrist cloth and sash and wearing jewellery, with dagger slant at waist, left hand holding bow and right stretching bow string, lion falling backward to r.

Inscr—*Chandra*

Rev—*Sinhavāhini* (Pārvatī seated on lion), holding noose in l. and cornucopia in r. hand, lion facing l.

Inscr—*Sinhauskramah*

Symbol on l., above a row of five dots, cut

AJIT GHOSE

GOLD COINS OF THREE KINGS OF THE NALA DYNASTY

[Plate V-C]

These coins are from a hoard which was discovered in 1939 at the village Edengā in the Kondegaon¹ *taluk* of the Bastar State in the Eastern States Agency. Some coins of the hoard were melted away by a goldsmith before the State authorities came to know of the discovery. Ultimately thirty-two coins were recovered, all of which were kindly sent for examination to the Central Museum, Nagpur, by Mr. E. C. Hyde, I.C.S., Administrator of the Bastar State. But for the prompt steps taken by Mr. Hyde, this unique hoard would have been completely lost to us. The Curator of the Museum very kindly placed the coins at my disposal for publication.

All the thirty-two coins are in a state of excellent preservation. They are round in shape and are manufactured from thin sheets of gold. They are all single-die coins, with the device and the legend embossed in relief on the obverse. The reverse is blank. According to their size, the coins fall into two groups—the larger ones, which number ten, measure from 20 to 21 millimeters in diameter and weigh from 19.7 to 24.6 grains each, while the smaller ones, twenty-two in number, are about 15 millimeters in diameter and weigh about 7½ grains each. The space on the obverse of each coin is divided into two parts by lines, from one to three in number, drawn diameterwise. Above these appear the figures of the humped bull (Nandi) and the crescent and below the legend of the king who issued it. The figure of the bull is very beautifully executed especially on the coin of Bhavadatta. From the devices and legends on these coins they can further be classified as follows—

I. Coins of Varāharāja

(A) Larger size—Here two types can be distinguished—

Type (i)—Six coins—Av. S. 21 mm., W. 19.7 grs.
Obv.—Inside a circle of dots along the edge, a couchant humped bull facing left with the crescent in front, below, the legend *Śrī-Varāharāja* in a horizontal line in box-headed characters of the fifth century A.D. Plate V-C, 1

Type (ii)—One coin—Av S 20 mm, W 20.2 grs
 Obv—Inside a circle of dots along the edge, a couchant humped bull facing right, with the crescent above its back. Below, legend as above. Plate V-C, 2

(B) Smaller size—

Twenty-two coins—Av S 15 mm, W 7.7 grains. Obv—Device as in Type (i) of the larger size. Legend *Śrī-Varāha*.

Here two issues can be differentiated according to the shape of the crescent. Plate V-C, 3-4

II A coin of Bhavadatta

(A) Larger size—

One coin—Av S 21 mm, W 24.6 grs.
 Obv—Inside a circle of dots along the edge, a couchant humped bull facing right with the crescent behind it, below, the legend *Śrī-Bhavadattarājasya* in box-headed characters of the fifth century AD. Plate V-C, 5

III Coins of Arthapati

Larger size—Two coins. Here also two types can be distinguished—

Type (i)—One coin—Av S 21 mm, W 23.2 grs.
 Obv—Inside a circle of dots along the edge, a couchant humped bull facing right with the crescent in front, below, the legend *Śrī-Arthapatirājasya* in a horizontal line in box-headed characters of the fifth century AD. Plate V-C, 6

Type (ii)—One coin—Av S 21 mm, W 22.3 grs.
 The device and the legend on the obverse are similar, but the crescent is behind the bull and the characters are somewhat cursive, the signs of the superscript *r* in *riha* and the medial *i* in *ti* are omitted. Plate V-C, 7

The coins of these kings are coming to light for the first time. From the characters the coins of Varāha appear to be the earliest and those of Arthapati the latest in the whole lot. It may again be noted that the legends on the coins of Bhavadatta and Arthapati, unlike that on the coin of Varāha contain the name of the respective king in the genitive case. In the disposition of the device and the legend these coins are in the style

of seals affixed to copper-plates or documents¹ Attention may in particular be drawn to the seal of the Mallār plates of Māhā-Sivagupta,² which also comes from Chhattisgarh and contains the figure of the couchant humped bull, though the symbols before and behind it are different Again its legend, though in verse, is written horizontally below the device like those on the present coins

The coins seem to be struck according to the indigenous weight system, the smaller coins representing a *māsha* of five *kṛṣṇālas* and the larger ones three *māshas* each As Dr D R Bhandarkar has shown,³ there were, in ancient India, coins weighing three *māshas* like those weighing only one *māsha*, though we have not come across actual gold coins of these weights

I have so far described these thin pieces as coins, but it may be doubted in view of their thinness if they were meant for circulation They resemble in many respects the gold plaque with the legend *Mahendrāditya*,⁴ described by R B Prayag Dayal Another plaque of the same type is the so-called silver coin of Prasannamātra,⁵ discovered by Mr L P Pande, which Sir Richard Burn⁶ takes to be a seal or a medal All these plaques have several common characteristics All of them are manufactured from thin sheets of gold or silver The device and the legend appear embossed on the obverse of all of them, while their reverse is completely blank The legend on each is, again, in box-headed characters in a horizontal line below the device If the aforementioned plaque with the legend *Mahendrāditya* was issued by Kumāragupta I,⁷ it must be taken to be a token, for it is unlike the numerous gold coins struck by that Gupta Emperor It may, therefore, be suggested that the plaques under consideration also are tokens, not coins meant for circulation^{7a}

1 Kondgaon is 81° 39' E and 19° 36' N

2 See the British series, *An Rep A S I* for 1903-4, pp 101-20

3 *Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p 87

4 *Numismatic Supplement* XLIV, No 309, J A S B, Vol XXIX, (1933)

5 *Ind His Quart*, Vol IX, p 595 and *Proceedings of the Fifth Oriental Conference* Vol I pp 456ff and Plate 1

6 *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, Vol VIII, p 12

7 Mr Ajit Ghose suggests its ascription to Kumāragupta of the Bhitarī Seal, *Numismatic Supplement*, No 332, J R A S B Vol II

7a Like the tokens described by R B Prayag Dayal, some of these coins have two holes pierced at the top

It should, however, be noted that the smaller among them correspond in weight to the gold coins of one *māsha* mentioned in the *Jātakas* and the *Arthasāstra* of Kautilya,⁸ and the latter, if they were actually in circulation must have been very thin. Besides, no coins of the usual type struck by any of these kings have yet been discovered. I am, therefore, inclined to take these as coins. I must, however, add that none of them, except the coin of Bhavadatta, seems to have been in circulation for a considerable time, for the devices and legends on them are in a state of excellent preservation. My friend, Mr M. A. Suboor, suggests that like the Nisār coins of the Muhammadan Emperors⁹ they may have been issued as largess-money. The coins were, perhaps, buried soon after they were received as gifts.¹⁰

The similarity in the devices and characters of these coins suggests that they belong to the same age and were evidently struck by members of the same royal family. The coins themselves give no clue to the identification of this family. But from inscriptions we know of a king named Bhavadatta of the Nala dynasty who probably flourished towards the close of the fifth century A.D. A copper-plate inscription in box-headed characters, recording a grant of this king¹¹ was discovered some fifteen years ago at Rithapur (Riddhapura) in the Amraoti District of Bejar. It is dated in the eleventh regnal year and records the donation of the village Kadambagiri-grāma which the king had made at Prayāga (Allahabad) at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna for the blessings of himself and his queen. The charter was issued from Nandivardhana, evidently after the king's return to his capital. Nandivardhana is probably identical with Nandardhan (also called Nagardhan) near Rāmtek in the Nagpur District.¹² Towards the close of the record there is mention of

8 D. R. Bhandarkar—*Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics*, pp. 52, 86 and 90.

9 H. Nelson Wright—*Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. III, p. 106.

10 If such coins were specially issued as largess-money certain gifts recorded in contemporary inscription would not appear exaggerated. The Cambay Plates of Govinda IV (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, pp. 26 ff) record, for instance, the gift of three lakhs of gold coins to Brāhmanas and of four more lakhs to temples, besides donations of several hundred villages, on the occasion of his coronation ceremony.

11 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 100 ff.

12 Mr Y. R. Gupta, who has edited the record in the *Ep. Ind.*,

the Mahārāja Arthapati, who executed the charter for the increase of the religious merit of his father and mother. The editor of this record took Arthapati to be an epithet (meaning the lord of wealth) of Bhavadatta himself.¹³ But it is unlikely that Bhavadatta would say in one part of the record that the gift was made for the blessings of himself and his wife and in another part of it that it was intended for the increase of the religious merit of his father and mother. Arthapati was, therefore, different from Bhavadatta. He was evidently his son. The title *Māharāja* prefixed to his name in the Ruchapur plates and the issue of coins in his name clearly indicate that he succeeded his father Bhavadatta.

Another inscription mentioning Bhavadatta was discovered in 1922 at Podāgadh in the Jeypore Agency of the Vizagapatam District in the Madras Presidency.¹⁴ Podāgadh is only about forty miles from the eastern boundary of the Bastar State. This inscription is on a stone slab and records the foundation of a foot-print of the god Vishnu and the grant of a town¹⁵ (*pura*) for the worship of it and for the establishment of a charitable feeding house. The gift was made by a son of Bhavadatta of the Nala dynasty in his twelfth regnal year. The name of this prince, which occurs at the end of line 5, has unfortunately been partly broken off. It has been tentatively read as Skandavarman. The subscript members of the ligatures *śka* and *nda* are not clear and in view of the close similarity between the letters *s* and *a* in the alphabet of that period,¹⁶ it may be suggested that the intended name was Arthavarman. But the reading Śrī-Arthavarmanā in place of Śrī-Skandavarmanā in lines 5-6 of that inscription would involve a hiatus and it appears doubtful if the name Arthapati would have been shortened into Artha (or Arthavarman). Besides, from his coins Arthapati seems to have been like his father, a devotee of Śiva. He is not, therefore, likely to have himself erected a temple of Vishnu. For these reasons I prefer to accept the reading Śrī-Skandavarmanā in lines 5-6 of

prefers to identify it with the village Nandur in the Yeotmal District but gives no convincing reasons in support of it.

13 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 101.

14 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 153 ff.

15 See line 6 of the inscription. In line 9 also *purab* is the genitive singular of *pur*, a town not an indeclinable meaning 'in front', as taken by the editor.

16 In the records of the period *a* and *su* are often confused

the Podāgadh inscription and to take Skandavuman as a brother of Arthipati.

The names of Bhavidatta and Arthipati, who belonged to the Nala dynasty, are thus known from epigraphic records of the fifth century A.D. The name of Virīha is, however, coming to light for the first time. Like the other two princes he also undoubtedly belonged to the Nala dynasty. From the evidence of palaeography he seems to have been a predecessor of Bhavidatta. Perhaps he was his father.

A third inscription of the Nala dynasty was discovered at Rām in the Raipur District of Chhattisgarh as far back as 1825.¹⁷ It is incised on a stone tablet built into the right hand wall of the *mandapa* of the temple of Rājivalochana. As it is considerably mutilated, it has not been edited so far. The extant portion eulogises the king Nala and mentions some members born in his family, of whom the names of only two viz., Prithvirāj and Virūpīṇī, can now be read with certainty. On the evidence of its characters the inscription has been referred by Dr. D. R. Bhindarkar to the middle of the 8th century A.D.,¹⁸ but it may be somewhat earlier. These princes were, therefore, later descendants of Bhavidatta and Arthipati.

The Nala dynasty was thus ruling over Dikshina Kosala (modern Chhattisgarh including the Bastar state and the adjoining territory). This conclusion is also corroborated by the statements in the *Vāyu* and *Brahmānda Purāṇas* that the descendants of Nala would rule in Kosala. Pargiter places these princes in the third century A.D.,¹⁹ but if Varīha was one of the earliest kings of this dynasty, they must be referred to the fourth or fifth century A.D. From the characters of their inscriptions the Nalas appear to have been contemporaries of the Vākatakas. The former ruled over Kosala and the latter over Vidarbha (which comprised modern Berar and the Marathi speaking districts of the Central Provinces). There were occasional wars between them. As stated above, the Rithapur plates of the Nala king Bhavadatta were issued from Nandivardhana, which was situated

17 It is mentioned in Mr. R. Jenkins' letter to Mr. W. B. Bayley, Vice-President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. See *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, p. 501. For a facsimile of the inscription see Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol. XVII, Plate IX.

18 *P. R. A. S.* Western Circle, for 1903-4, p. 48.

19 See Pargiter's *Purāṇa Texts of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*.

in the heart of the Vākātaka kingdom and was once the Vākātaka capital²⁰ Bhavadatta seems, therefore, to have occupied some portion of Vidarbha. The inscriptions of the Vākātakas also contain a reference to this invasion. The Bālāghat plates of the Vākātaka Prithivishena II (5th century A D) describe this king as one who raised his sunken family²¹. We have evidently here a reference to a foreign invasion during the reign of Prithivishena's father Narendrasena. The Vākātakas, however, soon retrieved their position and even carried the war into the enemy's territory. The aforementioned Podāgadh inscription mentions that Bhavadatta's son regained sovereignty and repopulated the capital Pushkarī which had been devastated by the enemy²². This enemy was probably the Vākātaka Prithivishena II.

The Nalas appear to have continued to reign in Kosala for some generations after Arthapati and Skandavarman. As stated before, Prithvirāja and Virūparāja mentioned in the Rājim inscription were among his descendants. The family is said to have been overthrown in the last quarter of the sixth century A D by Kirtivarman I of the Western Chālukya dynasty. He is described in some Chālukyan inscription as the Night of Destruction to the Nalas²³. It is not, however, unlikely that some princes of the family continued to rule in Kosala for some generations even after Kirtivarman I. For a similar statement is made about the Mauryas of North Konkan also, but we know from the Aihole inscription that the Mauryas were finally overthrown by Pulakeśin II, the son of Kirtivarman I.

V V MIRASHI

20 The Poona Plates of the Vākātaka queen Prabhāvatiguptā and the recently discovered Belorā Plates of her son Pravarasena II (which I am editing in the *Ep Ind.*) were issued from Nandivardhana.

21 *Ep Ind.*, Vol IX, p. 271.

22 *Ibid.*, Vol XXI, p. 155.

23 See e.g., the Aihole inscription of the reign of Pulakeśin II, *ibid.*, Vol VI, p. 4.

A TREASURE-TROVE FIND OF SILVER COINS OF BENGAL SULTĀNS

[Plate VI]

On the 15th November, 1937, a find of twenty silver coins was made by a villager while he was out looking for his strayed buffaloes on the bank of a dead river that once flowed by Hanspukur village in the Kalna sub-division, district Burdwan, a place in the vicinity of which myriads of relics are observed of the early Muhammadan period. The coins were found secured in an earthen pot with a lid on, and were in a good state of preservation, only a few of them were covered with a thin layer of clay coating. After cleaning simply in pure water, the whole find was found, except one common specimen of Muhammad III ibn—Tugh-laḳ, Sultān of Dehlī, to represent the issues of the early Sultāns of Bengal from Shamsu-d-dīn Fīroz Shāh to Sikandar Shāh son of Iliyās Shāh, and thus covered a period of nearly half a century. By comparing the dates on the coins it may be presumed that the find was buried soon after 759 A H, i.e., in the early period of Sikandar Shāh's reign. A special feature of this find is that none of these coins are disfigured with shroff-marks, which are observed extensively in the case of Bengal coins.

The find includes, in addition to the specimen of Muhammad III ibn Tugh-laḳ Shāh, 5 coins of Shamsu-d-dīn Fīroz Shāh, 3 of 'Alā-uddīn 'Alī Shāh, 10 of Shamsu-d-dīn Iliyās Shāh and one of Sikandar ibn Iliyās Shāh.

The coin of Muhammad III (Pl VI, 1) ibn Tugh-laḳ in this find is an issue of Satgāon mint and bears the date 734 A H (I M C No 324). From the numismatic evidence it appears that the Satgāon mint first came into being in the reign of this monarch. The coins of this mint issued by Muhammad III ibn Tugh-laḳ, so far found in the existing collections, are dated in 729, 730, 731, 733 and 734. In the absence of any earlier or posterior issues, it may be supposed that mint Satgāon must have been founded in the year 729 A H (A D 1328) and that it passed into the hands of the Bengal Sultāns soon after 734 A H (A D 1333).

Of the five coins of Shamsu-d-dīn Fīroz Shāh, two only are fully dated, one has the date 712 (Pl VI, 2) and the other 716, (Pl VI, 3). The present find gives a new date in 716 which is not represented either in the Indian Museum or British Museum collections. All the coins of this king in this

find are of known types already described in the Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum. The rest of his coins are without mint and of doubtful date.

Next we come to the coins of 'Alāuddīn Alī Shāh. In this find two of his coins are dated in 741 (Pl VI 4) and 745 (Pl VI 5) respectively, both of Firozābād Mint, whereas the mint name on his third coin is deleted and the last unit of date obscure. The Indian Museum cabinet has only two coins of this king dated 743 and 744 and the specimen in the British Museum bears the date 745, therefore the coin in this find bearing the date 741 is a new discovery and an important one.

The most interesting portion of this find consists of the ten coins of Shamsu-d-dīn Iliyās Shāh who reigned simultaneously with 'Alāuddīn 'Alī Shāh and after killing the latter became the absolute ruler of the whole of Western Bengal. Three of his coins are the issues of Satgāon mint of which two bear the dates 751 (Pl VI 6) and 757 (Pl VI 7) respectively. It is interesting to note that no coin of this mint has, so far, been represented in the cabinets of the British or Indian Museums. Mr A. W. Botham has, however, described three coins of this king minted at Satgāon but they are dated in 754 and 758. Both the coins, therefore, of this find bearing the dates 751 and 757 are most important as they are not represented, so far as has been ascertained, in any existing collection. The find includes seven more coins of this king. All these specimens, except one, are struck at Firozābād representing the type 'A' of the Indian Museum Catalogue and bearing the dates 754 (Pl VI 8), 756 (Pl VI 9) and 758. It is to be noticed in this connection that the last two dates viz., 756 and 758 are wanting in the specimens of type 'A' of the Indian Museum cabinet and also in the British Museum collection.

Last of all, but not the least, is the coin of Sikandar Shāh, son of Iliyās Shāh, in this find. The specimen bears the date 759 written clearly in words and is similar to the type 'C' represented in the Indian Museum and British Museum cabinets. The coins in both the collections mentioned above are without mint and in one coin only of the British Museum is recorded the date 764 which is also marked with a query by the author. The present specimen of Sikandar Shāh in the find is, therefore, a valuable addition in the field of Bengal numismatics. We look upon this piece with an added interest in as much as it is an issue of the first year of Sikandar Shāh's reign.

SHAMSUDDIN AHMAD

A GOLD COIN OF MAHMŪD SHĀH KHILJĪ OF MĀLWĀ

[Plate VII-A]

The Prince of Wales Museum recently acquired this gold coin from a local dealer. So far, two varieties in gold of this ruler are known. They are —

(1) Obv — السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا والدن اور المظفر محمود شاه —
حاکمی حلد اللہ خلافتہ

Rev — سکندر الدانی نمونہ الخلافتہ ناصر امیر المؤمنین

Name of the mint Shādiābād in the margin

(2) Obv — السلطان الاعظم اور المظفر علا الدنيا —

Rev — والدن محمود شاه الحاکمی حلد اللہ سلطنتہ —
and date

Of Variety No. 1 about half a dozen coins are known and are dated 841, 869², 870 and 871 A H

The coins of Variety No. 2 are extremely rare and only one piece with date 870 is noticed by Thomas on page 347 of his *Chronicles*

The coin which forms the subject of this note belongs to Variety No. 2 and is dated 849 A H. The script is different and the legend is not inscribed in cinquefoil as on No. 306 of Thomas. It dispels the idea that no gold coins were issued before 970 A H. The dates 941 and 949 are clear proofs of this early currency in gold. We know from history that due to the heretical views of Naṣir Khān, the Governor of Kālpi, there was a conflict between the armies of Mahmūd Shāh Khiljī of Mālwa and Mahmūd Shāh Sharqī of Jaunpur. A general action ensued, but the result was indecisive. The terms proposed by the Jaunpur ruler were ultimately accepted by the Mālwa Sultan and peace was declared in 849 A H. Possibly this gold coin with date 849 A H was issued when peace was declared and both the rulers retired to their respective territories.

The legend is as under —

Obv — السلطان الاعظم اور المظفر علا الدنيا —

Rev — والدن محمود شاه الحاکمی حلد اللہ سلطنتہ —

The date ۸۴۹ over the س of سلطنتہ

It weighs 168 grains

C R SINGHAL

A RARE *MUHR* OF NIZĀM SHĀH BAHMANI

[Plate VII-B]

The monetary issues of Nizām Shāh Bahmanī, which so far were known only in copper, are extremely rare and the Prince of Wales Museum has the distinction of possessing a unique coin in gold.

This ruler is generally known by the name of Nizām Shāh but when we turn to his currency, we do not read Nizām Shāh on either the obverse or the reverse of his issues. As a rule Muslim coins are struck either with the name of the king or his title, but on his issues, so far known, both these important features are missing. He is only known by the name of Ahmad Shāh bin Humayun Shāh. It is worth enquiring whether he assumed this name at the time of ascending the throne. As his coins bear the name of Ahmad Shāh, one might suggest that in future he may be styled as Ahmad Shāh III instead of Nizām Shāh and this suggestion deserves consideration at the hands of eminent numismatists. The name of a ruler is recognized by his currency and not by his personal name given to him in his childhood by his parents. The most important and interesting point in this *Muhr*, however, is that the obverse legend gives a clue also to this name which reads as Nizām-ud-dunya waud-din, for the first time. The reverse legend حکد الله ملکہ 'May God perpetuate his kingdom' was used only by him and by no other ruler of this dynasty.

The mint Muhammadābād (Bīdar) was named by Ahmad Shāh after the name of the saint Sayyid Muhammad Gesu Darāz. It was renamed as Zafarābād by Aurangzeb.

The legend runs like this —

Obv — الوئی بالله العی اور المظفر طام الدین و الدین

Rev — In square

احمد شاه بن همانوساه السلطان الهمی خلک الله ملکہ

Margin صرب حضرت محمد آباد ۸۹۷ ۵۱۳

The weight is 170 grs.

OF GUJARĀT

[Plate VII-C]

Some time back a local bullion merchant brought some gold coins for sale and it was a great pleasure to lay my hands on a unique gold Muhar of the famous ruler of Gujarāt. In fact the issue of the kings of Gujarāt were mainly confined to silver and copper and not more than twenty coins in gold of all the rulers of Gujarāt were known so far. Out of the ten rulers of this dynasty who are known by their currency, only five, it seems, were anxious to strike their money in the precious metal and the credit of issuing the largest number of *Muhars* goes to Muzaffar Shāh II and his grand-son, Mahmūd Shāh III. Mahmūd Shāh Begda, who was the most important ruler of this dynasty, did not strike many gold coins of which only one piece in the British Museum, London, is known. That piece bears no mint and is dated 914 A.H. The legend on the reverse is most common as can be seen from his other issues. The coin which is described here is unique in all aspects, except the legend on the obverse, which is common to both. The legend on the reverse of this coin is very interesting. The name of the king is inscribed in a circle and is followed by "خالد خلافت", "May his Khalifate be perpetuated". The name of the mint with its full epithet and date 902 A.H. can be seen in the margin. If we just peep into the history of these legends, we find that it was Mahmūd Shāh I who first introduced the sacred phrases of *الدنيا ركن الدين ابن العم*

الراى بالله المملک ناصر الدین و الدین ابو العزم و الراى نائيد الرحمن ناصر
to be struck on his few earlier coins and these were
followed with slight variations by his successors It seems the
legend "الراى نائيد الرحمن" was reserved for gold, while
"الراى بالله المملک" for his silver coins only, as these are not to
be seen on any of his copper issues On his later issues, these
phrases were replaced by السلطان الاعظم with the following portion
being continued The reverse legend حاکم خلافت was copied by
him from the coins of his brother and grand-father Ahmad Shāh II
and Ahmad Shāh I respectively This حاکم خلافت was first

used by him on his copper issues only in the year 863 A H, when he came to the throne and these coins are exactly similar to the billon issues of his brother Ahmad Shāh II except the name and title (*vide* No 144 and 259 of the Catalogue of Coins of the Sultans of Gujarāt in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, 1935) It weighs 175.5 grs

The legend runs as under —

Obv — In dotted circle

الراى نائند الرحمن ناصر الدين ر الدس ادر العدم

Rev — In circle محمود شاه الساطل حاك خلافة

In the margin —

صرف هذا الدينار في شهر محرم محمد آناك عرف حانباير سنة ٩٠٢

C R SINGHAL

A UNIQUE QUARTER-RUPEE OF SHER SHĀH SŪRĪ

[Plate VII-D]

This tiny piece was purchased from a Lucknow dealer for the Coin Cabinet of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay. At the time of the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India held at Āgra on 2nd January, 1927, Mr Ratilal M. Antāni of Udaipur had exhibited a quarter-rupee of Sher Shāh of Āgra mint (*vide* NS No XL, article No 265). But the coin which forms the subject of this note is absolutely different from the one already known to numismatists. This coin bears no mint but is dated 948 A H and is in a fairly good condition. The type is the same as No 630 of Indian Museum, Calcutta, or No 1073 of Mr H. Nelson Wright's splendid Catalogue of these coins. The legend reads as follows —

Obv — In square, the Kalima

السلطان العادل

Margins indistinct

Rev —

سدر شاه الساطل

حاك الله ملكه

ر ساطل ٩٤٨

बीमेरमाहा

Wt 40 grains

C R SINGHAL

THE GENEALOGY OF AHMAD SHĀH III OF GUJARĀT

An interesting inscription published by Mr G Yazdani in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1935-6, p 50, clears up a doubtful reading on certain coins of this ruler. The inscription describes Ahmad (III not II as stated by Mr Yazdani) as أخى of his predecessor Mīhmūd Shāh III. The word أخى, though it can be clearly read on the coins, now that the correct reading has been pointed out, was read by Mr Nelson Wright doubtfully as أخى (I M C, II nos 98 and 99, p 238, and pl 10), and by Mr Singhal (*Cat Coins, Prince of Wales Museum*, no 718, pl 8, and no 732 (a), pl 9) as أخى.

Mr Yazdani, taking the ordinary meaning of أخى as uncle interprets this coin and the inscription as recording that Ahmad Shāh III was the cousin of Mahmūd Shāh. This, however, conflicts with the genealogical table at p 711, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol 3, which Mr Yazdani, therefore, supposed to be incorrect as it shows Ahmad Shāh III as fifth in descent from Ahmad Shāh I, while Mahmūd Shāh III is sixth in degree from the same common ancestor. The table would then make Ahmad Shāh in "uncle" rather than a cousin.

Colonel Wolseley Haig's table has, however, the good authority of the "*Arabic History of Gujarāt*," edited by Sir E Denison Ross, Vol 2, p 391, and the *Murat-i-Sikandari*, as translated by Bayley, in "The History of Gujarāt," p 454, describes him as a "relative" of Mahmūd Shāh III. Professor Margoliouth has called my attention to Freytag's definition of أخى which is equivalent, translating the Latin, to "relative" or "kinsman." In a recent letter Mr Yazdani tells me that he now agrees that أخى is used in a wider sense than 'first cousin,' and as example he says that the late King Faisul of Iraq described himself as أخى of His Exalted Highness the present Nizam of Hyderabad, who is descended from Abū Bakī, a companion of the Prophet. The genealogical table in *Camb Hist India*, Vol 3, p 711, may thus be taken as more correct in this instance than those given by Mr Nelson Wright and Mr Singhal.

NOTES ON SOME RARE GOLD MUGHAL COINS ACQUIRED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM

[Plate VIII]

It has been suggested that I should send the Numismatic Society of India some notes on the coins of Akbar and Jahāngīr which have recently been acquired from me by the British Museum. In this paper I propose to deal only with the more outstanding gold coins.

AKBAR

	<i>Obv</i>	<i>Rev</i>
1 Uḍḍī	Kalima in quatrefoil	In foliated lozenge
987	In corners, reading	عارى
Wt 185.8	from bottom right to	اکبر بادشاه
Pl VIII, 1	left	حلال الدین
	ابونکر - عمر - عثمان - علی	In corners, from bottom right read- ing to left
		صرب | اردو | حاکم | ملکہ

I know of no duplicate but a few rupees of similar design and mint are known.

2 Āgra	The obverse has the Kalima in a looped
970	and foliated pentagon and the legend and
Wt 166.4	arrangement of the reverse are similar to
Pl VIII, 2	those of the coins of 971

The interest of this coin lies in the fact that it is the earliest known gold coin of the Āgra Mint.

	<i>Obv</i>	<i>Rev</i>
3 Āgra	اللہ اکبر	اکبر الہی
48 Azar	حل جلالتہ	۴۸ اکرہ
Wt 84		ب
Pl VIII, 3		صر

This is a half *mubār*.

The British Museum has a coin of similar denomination but struck in the month of *meher*. This was in the cabinet of the late Mr W E M Campbell, I C S, I can trace no others.

- 4 Āgra
50 R Y
Shahrewat
Wt 167.5 grs
Pl VIII, 4

A *muh* of the same year and month and similar ornamentation has been described and illustrated in the Lucknow Museum Catalogue under No 80. But the arrangement of the reverse legend is different. In the coin now figured the reverse reads ب افره in the Lucknow ۵۰ افره. The British
صرب ۵۰ صرب

Museum possesses another of these rare and beautiful *muh*s but of the month Amardād. It is similar to the Lucknow coin in the arrangement of the reverse.

	Obv	Rev
5 Lāhor	الله	نبي اله
40 R Y	اکبر	۴۰ لاهور
D1	حل حلاله	صرب
Wt 181.7 grs		
Pl VIII, 5		

The weight of this coin shews that it is the *llāh* of Abūl Fazl's inventory in the Āin-i-Akbarī weighing 12 *māshas* $1\frac{3}{4}$ *surkhs*, i.e., about 187 grs. *Muh*s of this weight were apparently struck up to the 45th regnal year. Thereafter the normal weight was 11 *māshas* (about 170 grs). The broad flan (.95 of an inch) makes the coin a striking one. It also seems to be unique otherwise, there being no mention of any specimen of this type in the British Museum, Punjab and Lucknow Museum catalogues, or elsewhere, so far as I know. It is further the earliest of the Lāhor gold *muh*s with Akbar's creed, though two quarter *muh*s of the month of Azar of this year (40) and type are known. Dr. White King had one (Schulman Sale Catalogue Pt. III, No 3497) and one is still in my own cabinet. The latter weighs 47 grs and was known as a 'Man'.

	Obv	Rev
6 Lāhor	As on No 5	صرب اله
48 R Y		۴۸ لاهور
Mihl		صرب
Wt 84 grs		
Pl VIII, 6		

This coin is apparently the only gold half-*mubr* of Lāhor known. Its weight and date shew that it is a half of the round *mubr* of Abūl Fazl's inventory

Obv

- 7 Mālpūr Kalima in triple square, the centre one
A H 984 dotted ۹۸۴ in bottom left corner Margins
Wt 168 2 grs cut
Pl VIII, 7

Rev

In oblong area enclosed by triple lines,
the centre one dotted

حلال الدین محمد اکبر ناسخه عاری

Below

دار الخلافة مالدر

This is the only gold coin known from this mint, so far as I am aware. A rupee—also single and also of 984 A H—was in the cabinet of Mr Geo Bleazby of Allahabad and is now in the British Museum. The date, however, runs vertically above the ج of حلال الدین on the reverse, which is enclosed in a triple square similar to that on the obverse of the gold coin. Some copper *dāms* are known, ranging between 983 and 986 A H, but they are scarce. Mālpūr is one of the group of States included in the political agency of Mahikāntha and lies sixty miles east of Ahmadābād. It will be noted that the *mubr* and rupee resemble in design the coins of Ahmadābād of the same year. The necessity of having another mint so close to Ahmadābād is difficult to understand.

*Obv**Rev*

- | | | |
|----------------|-------------|--------------------|
| 8 No mint name | سب | سب |
| recorded | اس رراے | اور رورا |
| R Y 44 | سہ اکبر اور | مہر |
| Mihl | مہر | نا زمین و آسمان را |
| Wt 161 grs | ۱۶۱ | |
| Pl VIII, 8 | | |

The Persian couplet is the same as that on the coin of Āgra described and figured under No 169 in the British Museum Catalogue. This coin differs in having no mint name, the regnal year taking the place of the mint on the obverse. The reverse of the Āgra coin records the regnal year 49 and month—Azar. The Āgra coin also has a broader flan.

JAHĀNGĪR

9 Āgīr
A H 1014
R Y 1
Wt 100.4 grs
Pl VIII, 9

Obv

In triple circle, the centric
one of dots, on floral field

لا اله الا الله

محمد

رسول الله

صرب اگرة ۱۰۱۴

Rev

As on obverse

عارى

دادسہ

سليم

سلطان

1

This important and unique piece, which is a half of the heavy *mubār* issued by Jahāngīr in the early years of his reign, has been described and illustrated by Mr R B Whitehead in Part III of his paper "Some notable coins of the Mughal Emperors" in the Numismatic Chronicle for 1930, p 6. It is a pre-coronation piece as shewn by the title Sultān Salīm and recalls the Salīmī rupees of the Ahmadābād Mint. At his official accession the Emperor took the titles of Nūru-d-dīn Jahāngīr.

Obv

10 Lāhor
A H 1032
R Y 17
Wt 170 grs
Pl VIII, 10

In triple circle on
floral field

دادسہ

نگیر

۱۷ سنہ ۱۰۳۲

مہر

ارنور

Rev

As on obverse

ہمچر ماہ

ر سکہ

۱۰۳۲ لاهور

شد ر

This unique coin was also described and figured by Mr R B Whitehead in the paper quoted above, p 8. The same couplet appears on a zodiacal *mubār*, sign Scorpio, of the same mint and the same dates in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.

	<i>Obv</i>	<i>Rev</i>
11 Sq	In triple square, the	In triple square, the
Āgra	centre one of dots,	centre one of dots,
A H 1020	enclosing a double	enclosing a double
R Y 6	lined octagon with	lined eight peaked
Month Khūrdād	floral emblems in	star with floral em-
Wt 168 4 grs	corners	blems in corners
Pl VIII, 11		

اکدر	ماه خورداد
شاه شاه	صرب اکره
بگر	سنه ۶
دور الدن بها	۱۰۲۰

12	Āgra A H 1022 R Y 8 Month Fatwādin Wt 168 grs Pl VIII, 12
----	--------------------------------------------------------------------------

<i>Obv</i>	<i>Rev</i>
In quadruple circle, the alternate ones of dots	As on obverse
بگر شاه اکدر شاه بها دور الدن	صرب اکره الهی ماه خورداد سنه ۸ ۱۰۲۲

Among the gold coins that passed from my cabinet to the British Museum were twelve *muhrs* of Jahāngīr of the Āgra mint with dates between the fifth and twelfth years of his reign. From the point of view of artistic excellence these, especially those of the 5th and early 6th regnal years, can hardly be equalled in the whole range of Mughal coinage, unless it be by the coins of the last few years of Akbar's reign. The following is an abbreviated list:

1019-5	Isfandārmuz square
1020-6	Khūrdād square
1020-6	Amardād
1020-6	Shahrewar
1020-6	Dī
1021-7	Fatwādin
1021-7	Shahrewar

- 1022-8 Farwardīn
 1022-8 Amardād
 1022-8 Shahrewar 124 grs
 1026-11 Isfandārmuz
 1027-12 Azar

This striking series appears to have begun in the month of Mihr 1019 and the coins were for the first few months of heavy weight and alternately round and square. *Mubrs* of Azar, Dai and Bahman 1019-5 and of Ardibihist 1020-6 are not, so far as I know, anywhere recorded. A look out should be kept for these. Of the above twelve coins I am describing and figuring only two. The Khūrdād coin of 1020-6 seems to mark the commencement of the lighter weight series and it is noticeable for being square instead of round as it should have been had it continued the earlier and heavier series. After it all the *mubrs* are round and of light weight, though in the rupee issue the alternation of round and square is kept up to the end of the series in 1028-13. I look on the Khūrdād *mubr* of 1020-6 with its legend enclosed on the obverse in an octagon and on the reverse in an eight-peaked star as the most beautiful coin of the series. It is also in very fine condition. So is the other *mubr* figured. It is typical in its design of the gold issues struck between Bahman 1021 and Azar 1027 when the gold series seems to have ended. In the months of Shahrewar and Mihr 1022-8 a new experiment seems to have been tried. No *mubr* of the usual type and weight is known, but coins of 124 grains take its place. The experiment, however, evidently met with no success and in Abān the former type was brought back. I do not think that the coins of Shahrewar and Mihr (R Y 8) should be regarded as spurious.

	<i>Obv</i>	<i>Rev</i>
13 Ajmer	دبى دناه	ابى اكر
A H 1024	سناه	داسناه
R Y 10	در احمير ۱۰	نگير
Wt 166 7 grs	سكه	نور حها
Pl VIII, 13	در در ابى	الدنى
		سناه
		۱۰۲۴

A coin of similar mint and type but of 1025-11 has been described and figured in the Punjab Museum Catalogue No 890 and another in the British Museum Catalogue No 302. There

are, however, differences in the arrangement of the reverse legend, i e, the dies are distinct. On the British Museum coin the Hijra date is in the centre of the reverse instead of at the bottom. On the Punjab Museum coin the regnal year is placed at the top of the reverse—on my coin it is at the left of the mint name on the obverse.

	<i>Rev</i>	<i>Rev</i>
14 Sūrat	جہانگیر	سہ
A H 1036	رحم شاه	نہ
RY —	صد رنور	جہان
Wt 161.2	یام	اندام نور
(a little worn)	صرب سررب	بیگم رر
Pl VIII, 14		۱۰۳۶

The British Museum has a second example of this very rare coin—of the same mint and date, and the Punjab Museum Catalogue records a Nūr Jahān *muhr* of Ahmādābād of 1037. I can find no record of any orders. Neither the Indian Museum and Lucknow Museum catalogues nor the sale catalogue of the White King collection contain any mention of a gold coin in the name of Nūr Jahān.

H NELSON WRIGHT

A UNIQUE BI-MINTAL MUHR OF SHĀH JAHĀN

[Plate VII-E]

The coinage of the Mughal Badshāhs of Hindustan, although generally not so artistically executed as those of the Imperial Guptas and some other indigenous ancient Indian coins, provides ample materials and information for study by research scholars not only of numismatics but of history and economics as well

It cannot be said that the fine arts did not sufficiently develop during the Mughal period to leave a definite impress on coins nor can it be said that they deteriorated so much as to make it impossible to produce fine examples of artistic pieces in the form of coins in view of the fact that the legacy the period has left behind in the shape of carvings and inlaid works on precious and semi-precious stones, textiles and miniature paintings still remains unparalled even after nearly three centuries

The simplicity of execution in Mughal coinage can be explained for two reasons. One was their religious sentiments which prohibited the representation of living beings in art. Their artistic spirit was diverted towards ornamental writing in the form of Tugra and fine Nastaliq Caligraphy. Of course, the portrait and zodiacal coins of Jahāngir and the hawk, duck and Rāmchandri *muhrs* of Akbar are the only exceptions. The other reason was the influence of the types and forms of coins then in circulation in Iran and Turan which they imitated and from where the Pathan and Mughal soldiers of fortune had come over to Hindustan.

In spite of the paucity of artistic designs as compared with the coinage of the Imperial Guptas etc., the Mughal coinage abounds in historical and other information which I can safely say no other system of coinage in the world, ancient or modern, has yet supplied to historians and numismatists. The following peculiarities are to be particularly noted

- (1) The Hijra year
- (2) The regnal year
- (3) The Ilāhī year
- (4) The name of the month
- (5) The name of the mint towns
- (6) The mint marks, and
- (7) The Caligraphy

The mint towns themselves only give us the idea of the extent of the Empire of the particular Emperor, but the name of a new mint town in conjunction with the year on the coin of a particular Emperor furnishes information regarding the date of the real conquest by the force of arms of that particular province of which the mint town was the capital or a formal acknowledgment of allegiance on the part of the hereditary chiefs of the province, because the reading of the Khutba i.e. proclamation of the regnant appellation and titles of the actual occupant of the throne of Dehli in the Friday prayers and the stamping of coins were in those days universally regarded as manifestoes of unchallenged supremacy.

The Mughal Badshāhs of Hindustan were so particular as to their royal prerogative of minting coins that they carried mint and apparatus along with them on their march with their armies as well as on pleasure excursions, thus we have coins struck in the mint URDŪ (Royal Camp) URDŪ ZAFAR QARĪN (Camp associated with victory) and URDŪ DĀR RAH I DAKHĀN (Camp on the road to the Dakhān).

The mint name URDŪ first appears on a coin of Babur in the Punjab Museum and on a few coins of Akbar also. Three unique zodiacal muhars of Jahāngīr are also of URDŪ mint. The mint name URDŪ ZAFAR QARĪN is only too familiar to the collectors of Akbar's coins as they were abundantly struck.

URDŪ DĀR RAH I DAKHĀN is a mint on a unique coin of Jahāngīr in the Lucknow Museum.

Of Shāh Jahān there is only one known Nisar with the mint name of URDŪ ZAFAR QARĪN.

From the above it is clear that although there are plenty of Akbar's coins with the mint name URDŪ ZAFAR QARĪN, there are only a few of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān with the Camp as their mint. This fact suggests that carrying of coin-dies with the Camp names engraved on them gradually came into disuse, and the later Mughal Emperors after Akbar, whether on their military expeditions or on their pleasure excursions to other provinces carried with them coin-dies of the capital towns of either Āgra or Dehli from wherever they made their start, and used them for stamping the obverse side only and for the reverse used the die of the capital town of the province where they made a longer halt, and struck coins during their sojourn. This supposition is borne out by an interesting gold *muhr* of Shāh Jahān, so far known to be unique, which is in my cabinet. The coin has on the obverse the name of the Emperor with full Imperial titles

and the mint name of Akbarābād, the execution of the die being exactly in the artistic Āgra and Dehli type, while on the reverse side appears the Kalima, the mint name of Patnah, a portion of the regnal year 3 and the month Ardibihist, the die is engraved in exactly the peculiar and comparatively inartistic Caligraphy of Patnah as is found on all other Patnah coins of this Emperor

Another explanation which might be advanced is that obverse dies with the name of the Emperor only without any mint name were usually carried on such expeditions or excursions but on this occasion an obverse die with the name of the Emperor and the name of the mint town was taken from Akbarābād through oversight

The above mentioned conjectures seem to be most plausible and the matter is left to the judgment of eminent scholars of history and numismatics.

BAHADUR SINGH SINGHI

THREE BRONZE COINS OF PERSIS

[Plate VII-F]

Persia is the Latinized form of a name which originally and strictly designated only the country lying along the north-east coast of the Erānian Gulf and bounded on the north by Media, on the north-west by Susiana and on the east by Carmanīa. It had of old its capital at Istakhr or Persepolis the cradle and sacred hearth of the Achaemenian and Sāsānian dynasties. This country and its people were anciently called Pārsa. This name figures in the cuneiform inscription of Darius the Great (B C 521-486) at Persepolis. "This land Pārsa," says Darius, "which Ahura-Mazdā has given to me, which is beautiful and rich in horses and men, according to the will of Ahura-Mazdā and myself it trembles before no enemy." The Greek form *περσαι* with *ē* for *ā*, which all European languages follow, seems to have come from the Ionians, who disliked to pronounce *ā* even in foreign words. Thus *περσαι* would stand for Pārsa. The form *περσος* is exclusively Greek. The name Persia, which with slight variations, is the name for Erān in all European languages, has its historic origin in the Greek appellation of this land. The Achaemenian dynasty, which rose from this province, so extended its power over the whole upland country, and built up such a mighty empire that the name of Pārsa was applied to the entire country and its people, and so again, when a second great empire, that of the Sāsānians, arose from the same land, all its subjects began to be called Persians and Persis or Persia was used for the whole Sāsānian lands. The name Erān, on the other hand, was of much wider signification than Persia, and the whole-upland country from Kurdistān to Afghanistān, may be called Erān.

After the conquest by Alexander (B C 331) and under the Greek Seleucids, who had become masters of Alexander's Eastern Empire (B C 323-140), Persia or Pārs became a satrapy, governed like the others by a satrap. At the time of the dissolution of the Seleucid Empire, this province revolted almost about the same time as Parthia in B C 249-48, and gained its independence.

Persis never became a part of the empire of the Arsacids, although her kings recognized their supremacy when they were strong. It had throughout the whole Arsacid regime held an

isolated position, and is so seldom mentioned by ancient writers that our knowledge of its history and native princes is wholly due to its coins, but we cannot state whether these princes were all of one dynasty or more. From the different series of its coins, it is possible to assume that there were distinct periods in its history and consequently several reigning dynasties. The emblems on the coins show that Persis was always loyally Zoroastrian, though the Greek deities and Phil-Hellenism had penetrated the court of the Arsacids. Even after the researches of well-known numismatists for the last fifty years, we cannot compile with certainty a list of its rulers or determine with precision the limits of their reigns. It must not be assumed that the kings followed one another in a continuous sequence, because allowances have to be made for the possibility of contemporaneous reigns as well as the rise of usurpers and rival rulers, but we cannot prove such events from the coins, which are devoid of dates.

The coinage of Persis covers a period beginning about B C 249/48 and lasting until the rise of the Sāsānian coinage in the first decade of the third century after Christ. It consists of four distinct series, the first of which appears to date from B C 249/48 to about 150, because the coins in question are Achaemenian in style, the Achaemenian tradition being much stronger in Persis than in Parthia. The coins of the second series are characterized by the difference in style to those of the first series, and by the new title *shāh* assumed by the kings, as borne by all the other satraps of the Arsacid Empire. It seems probable that during the reign of Mithradates I (B C 171-138), Persis was subdued and became one of the semi-independent satrapies of the Arsacid Empire. It is, therefore, possible to date this series of coins from about B C 150 to about 100. The third series covers the period of the first century before Christ. It is greatly influenced by the type of the Arsacid drachms. The head of the king, which is turned to the right on the coins of the earlier series, is here turned to the left in accordance with the Parthian fashion. This direction of the head of the king continues on the coins of the fourth series till the time of Ardashīr Pāpakān (A C 211/12-241), when the old type is resumed. The arrangement of the inscription in a square is another feature copied from the Arsacid coinage. The small fire-altar is of the Parthian type as found on the Parthian bas-relief near Behistūn, on several Arsacid seals, and in strata of the Parthian age in Babylonian and Assyrian excavations. The inscriptions on the

coins of this series add the name of the father to that of the reigning king, which rule prevailed up to the time of the early coinage of Ardashīr Pāpakān. This innovation enables us to arrange these coins in chronological order with certainty. In the fourth series of coins two groups are distinguishable, the one subsequent to the third series and the other immediately preceding the Sāsānian coinage. This series naturally covers the remaining period upto about A.C. 210.

The coinage of Persis offers important palaeographic evidence. The characters in the inscriptions on the coins of the first series are almost identical with the Babylonian Aramaic of the fourth and third centuries before Christ, and the Aramaic inscriptions on Achaemenian seals. The early coins of the second series show that the script commences to deviate from the archaic to the Pārsik form, and the coins of the third series display so marked a difference that the two scripts are clearly distinguishable. In the fourth series several characters have reached their final forms, and during the course of the first century after Christ the differentiation between the Aramaic and Pārsik scripts was complete. On the later coins of this series the script becomes nearly the same as that on the coins and rock-cut inscriptions of the early Sāsānian kings. This evolution of the script is very different to that which produced itself in the country of the Semitic language, such as Susiana and Babylonia, the Aramaic writing preserved for a very long time, than in Persis, their archaic characters.

Pahlavī is the name given by the followers of Zoroaster to the language and characters in which are written the ancient translations of their sacred books and other works of a critical character, but the correct term should be Pārsik. The name Pahlavī means Parthian, Pahlav being the regular Pārsik transformation of the older Parthava. This fact points to the conclusion that this language belongs to the Pahlav country. On the other hand, the name Pārsik indicates that this language was current in the principality of Pārs (Persis). Other linguistic, graphical and historical indications point the same way. But it is far from clear how the strange practice of writing Semitic words which were to be read as Pārsik was developed. This system cannot be the invention of some individuals, for in that case this practice would have been more consistently worked out.

With these preliminary remarks I here introduce to the notice of students of this epoch three bronze coins, now in the cabinet of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, which as far

as I know, are unique, for the known currency of Persis consists entirely of silver. These three pieces pertain to the first, second and third series which fact implies that bronze coins were also struck in Persis covering the period from about B C 249/48 to the first century before Christ

No	1	First Series
	Vātafradāt I (Autophradates I)	
Metal	Æ	Wt 180 grs
Axis	↑	Size 1 25"

Obv — Head of Vātafradāt I r, with short beard, wearing kyrbasia bound with diadems tied at back, and with flap to cover ear, grenetis

Rev — Fire-altar, with double panelled doors, and horned battlements above, above it hovers an image of *favahr* (badly struck up), on l, the king wearing head-dress as on obv, and long garment with sleeves, standing r, r hand raised in adoration towards the altar, and l resting on upright bow before him, on r, standard, uninscribed, but strokes on r and in ex, grenetis, flan concave in form

The inscription on the reverse of the silver coins is — *Vatafradat fratarakā zī alabiā*, 'Vātafradāt, the divine chief' *Fratarakā*, 'the chief', was the official title of the kings of Pārs (Persis), and the ideograms *zī alabiā* stand for *i bagān*, 'the divine'. On some coins the mint-name is found in an abbreviated form $\frac{BR}{PR}$, while on some others the full name ap-

pears $\frac{BIRTA}{PRS}$. *Birtā* is the ideogram for *stakhr*, 'fortress', and PRS refers to Pārs, therefore, *Birtā Pars* means the fortress of Pārs, that is the capital Istakhr or Persepolis

No 2 Second Series

	Dārayav I (Darius I)	
Metal	Æ	Wt 76 grs
Axis	↑	Size 90"

Obv — Head of Dārayav I r, with close cropped beard, wearing kyrbasia with neck-piece, bound with diadem tied at back, crescent (horns upwards) on top of head-dress, circular ear-ring

Rev — Similar to No 1, but all details more summary, and workmanship ruder, on r, of altar eagle l on upright rectangle, inscr in ex — *Dārayav malkā*, 'Darius the king', *malkā* is the ideogram for *shāh*, 'king'

No	3	Third Series
	Artakhshatār II (Artaxerxes II)	
Metal	Æ	Wt 71 grs
Axis	↑	Size 85 ⁰

Obv—Bust of Artakhshatr II 1, with short beard and thick waved hair, wearing Persepolitan crown with stepped battlements, diadem, torque, and cloak

Rev—Small fire-altar, on r the king stands I, holding with both hands a sword inclined towards the fire, inscr in square, above (*A*)rtakh(*sha*)tr on l *malkā*, in ex *bareh* (*Dārayav*), on r (*ma*)lkā, 'Ardashir the king, son of Darius the king', the ideogram *bareh* stands for *pus*, 'son' A symbol (badly struck up) counterstruck, obliterating the letter 'sh' in the top line and the fire on the altar

FURDOONJEE D J PARUCK.

OBSERVATIONS ON FIVE SĀSĀNIAN COINS*

[Plate IX]

I propose to describe five interesting Sāsānian coins, or rather, without insisting on their descriptions, to point out their peculiarities. The reader would, therefore, examine with care the figures on the plate.

The drachm No 4 illustrates an event known in history, but the pieces Nos 1 and 2 have the advantage of bringing forward new documents for history itself. In the total absence of any other document, the legends on these latter coins permit us to reconstruct the history of the farthest conquest in the East by the Sāsānian kings. The third century of the Christian era is justly regarded as the most obscure in the whole of the Indian historical period. It is, therefore, necessary to collect everything that can throw the least light on that period. The coins Nos 1 and 3 are preserved in the British Museum, and the drachms Nos 2, 4 and 5 belong to my cabinet.

No 1. The British Museum possesses two drachms of Firōz, son of Ardashīr I (224-241), the reverse of which has been misrepresented on account of the incorrect reading of a part of the inscription. I, therefore, propose to give the correct reading and to identify the personage seated on a throne. The reverse of these drachms is much defaced, but we can now restore the details by the aid of the drachm of Hormazd I (No 2 of the present article). On the reverse to the left of the fire-altar, we find the crowned figure of Firōz, and to the right, a personage in whom Herzfeld recognizes a god. Behind Firōz, we read PEROZI MLKA, and behind the personage, the brief legend MLKA INDI,¹ though Herzfeld² claims to read *Budaā yazde*, 'Buddha god'. As this reading was erroneous, I pointed it out to this savant and justified my correction.³ But he persists in maintaining his erroneous reading with one modification of

* F. D. J. Paruck 'Observations sur cinq monnaies Sassanides' in 'Revue Numismatique', 1936, pp 71-86, p 1, translated by the author by kind permission of the editors of the 'Revue Numismatique'. Additional notes are enclosed in brackets, thus []

1 See my book 'Sāsānian Coins', pp 82 and 322

2 'Paikuli', p 45

3 'Revue Archéologique', 1928, p 241

no importance *Buldā yazde*⁴ It is fortunate that he has given in his Memoir an enlarged drawing of the reverse (p 30, fig 22), and the enlarged photographs of the two drachms (pl I, figs 5a, 5b) On the drawing, this brief legend begins with the Pahlavī letter B, but this sign does not appear on the photographs On the contrary, the first letter resembles the Pahlavī letter M in the Sāsānian rock-cut inscriptions, therefore, we ought to read it M and not BU The third is K without the horizontal stroke This omission is not rare in the monetary epigraphy of that period The second letter of the second word is, without any doubt, N and not Z On the reverse of the drachm of Hormazd I (No 2 of the present article), the second letter of the word INDI resembles exactly the Pahlavī letter N in the Sāsānian rock-cut inscriptions This confirms my reading INDI on the reverse of the drachms of Firōz I may be permitted to say that the reading *Buddā* or *Buldā yazde* is impossible, for we have only to examine the photographs to convince ourselves that we can easily read MLKA INDI, that is *malkā Inde* This reading has not only a reasonable sense, but it has the merit of agreeing precisely with the indications afforded by the epigraphy of the period

It appears to me to be certain that the name *Inde* on these coins signifies Sind The Pahlavī form of this name is Hīnd, but, due to Greek influence, the first letter H has been dropped These drachms were struck in the kingdom of the Kushāns, where Greek influence was profound at that time The artistic aspect of the reverse, moreover, illustrates this influence very well The design in fact depends more on Greco-Bactrian art than Sāsānian The type of the representation of the personage seated on a throne is derived from that of Zeus seated on a throne, as found on the Greco-Bactrian coins, and the style of the perspective representation of the throne is also due to the same influence I submitted this note to Sir Aurel Stein, and I am glad to say that he has approved of my identification The brief legend *malkā Inde*, to the right, depicts the personage seated on a throne as being the king of Sind

A few letters appear on the upper part of the reverse of these drachms Herzfeld⁵ proposed, at first, the reading MZD or

4 'Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No 38, Herzfeld 'Kushano-Sasanian Coins', p 31 This Memoir requires to be read with caution, for it contains many fanciful conjectures

5 'Paikuli', p 45

MLK, then later on, SML, that is Samarkand⁶ From the enlarged photographs in the Memoir (pl 1 figs 5a, 5b), I am able to decipher these letters as IRD There are traces of the fourth letter, but it is not inscribed in full for want of space The word *Iradatī* is found following the name *Inde* on the reverse of the drachm of Hormazd I (No 2 of the present article) This confirms my reading IRD[TI] on the reverse of the drachms of Firōz Thus, we know that this word is continued in the brief inscription to the right, therefore, the complete reading is *malkā Inde Irada (tī)*

The last name may be applied to the valley of the river Rāvi, one of the five rivers of the Punjāb, that of the centre, that is Multān, which the early Arab geographers included in the kingdom of Sind⁷ I have not been able to find any reference to prove that the name of this river was applied to the country which it waters It is difficult to say whether the Pahlavī form *Iradatī* is derived from the Indian name *Irāvati* or from its Greek form *Hydrāotes*, the old course of the river Rāvi

[*Irāvati*, 'rich in food', and *Hydrāotes*, 'rich in waters', are obviously two distinct names of one and the same river It seems probable that the form *Iradatī* is merely the phonetic transcription of the Greek name *Hydrāotes*, the transposition of the letters 'd' and 'i' being not an unusual occurrence

Rao Bahadur K N Dikshit, Director General of Archaeology in India, informs me that the name *Irāvati* persists upto modern times, the present name *Rāvi* being only an abbreviated form—the initial vowel being dropped as is the tendency in the Punjāb There is, however, no evidence to show that the Central Punjāb was named after the *Irāvati* valley, although this should not be impossible]

The nimbus around the head of the king of Sind, on the reverse, attracts our attention The solar halo is not a distinctive characteristic of the deities, but it is also proper to great men The principal argument of Herzfeld⁸ is that the nimbus around the head is the sole distinctive attribute which permits us to recognise the identity of Mithra To accept this attribution, we must remove many difficulties A study of Indo-Scythian coins⁹ shows that not only Mithra but even other deities were represented with the solar halo Thus the presence of the nimbus does not permit us to identify the figure with Mithra

⁶ Herzfeld, Memoir, pp 14—15

⁷ 'Encyclopædia Britannica', 9th edition, sub Multān

⁸ Herzfeld, *op cit*, p 29

⁹ 'Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum', 1886, Pls XXVI-XXVIII

Herzfeld asserts, moreover, in his *Memoir* (p. 29), that it was the divine prerogative to hold in the hand the Sāsānian diadem with long bands and to present this symbol of royalty to the king. This assertion is proved to be false by the testimony of the coins of several Sāsānian kings. The presentation of the diadem by the queen and the prince, on several coins of Bahrām II (276-293), is an instance in point. Herzfeld has overlooked these Sāsānian coins. On the reverse of the drachms of Firōz, the presentation of the diadem by the king of Sind, seated on a throne, appears to be the symbol of *hamā-zor*. We have noticed representations of this kind not only on the coins of several Sāsānian kings, but also on some of their bas-reliefs. Thus, on that of the Naqsh-e Rustom, Ardashīr I is *hamā-zor* with Ahura-Mazdā, then between the supposed tomb of Darius II and that of Darus I, Narses is figured as *hamā-zor* with Anāhita. This conception of *hamā-zor* is based on religious tradition and texts.¹⁰

[The inscription on the drachms of Firōz is —

Obv.—Inscr. around, beginning on 1, upwards, *Muzdēšn bagī Pērōzi rabā Kūšān malkā*, to be read *Mazdēšn bage Pērōze vazurg Kūšān šāh*, 'Mazdā-worshipping lord Firōz, the great Kushān king'.

Rev.—on 1, downwards, *Pērōzi malkā*, to be read *Pērōze šāh*, 'king Firōz', on 1, upwards, *malkā Indī*, to be read *šāh (i) Hind*, 'king of Sind', on top, *Irada (ti)*]

No. 2. I have published this drachm in another journal,¹¹ where I have attributed it to Hormazd II (303-310), but after having studied it once again, I believe that it was issued by Hormazd I (272/73). It was not possible for me to explain at that time the meaning of the inscription on the reverse to the right, and to decipher the word in the second line on the upper part of the field. The legend to the right of the reverse is A INDI IRDTI. By analogy with the same inscription on the drachms of Firōz (No. 1 of the present article), I think that the first word is *malkā*, of which the letter A only could be deciphered. As I have explained above, the names *Inde Iradatī* signify Sind and Multān. The reading of the word in the second line on the upper part of the reverse remained for a long time completely illusive, but now I am able to propose the reading HREZI.

¹⁰ Coxall, J. C., in the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal', 1926, p. 403.

¹¹ *Revue Archéologique*, 1930, p. 234 sq.

According to all the early Arab geographers,¹² the old name of Rājputāna was Haraz. It is probable that the original form of this name was Harez, as on this drachm

[In Pahlavi the letter 'h' has also the phonetic value of 'kh', so the name Harēz may be pronounced Kharēz]

Cunningham has observed that "The name of the country is somewhat doubtful, as the unpointed Arabic characters may be read as *Haraz* or *Hazar*, and *Kharaz* or *Kbazar*, as well as *Jurz* or *Juzr*. But fortunately there is no uncertainty about its position, which is determined to be Rājputana by several concurring circumstances. Thus the merchant Sulimān, in A.D. 851 (Dowson's *Elliot*, I, 4), states that Haraz was bounded on one side by *Tāfek* or *Tākin*, which, as I have already shown was the old name of the Punjab. It possessed silver mines, and could muster a larger force of cavalry than any other kingdom of India. All these details point unmistakably to Rājputāna, which lies to the south-east of the Punjab, possesses the only silver mines known in India, and has always been famous for its large bodies of cavalry" (Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, ed. by Sāstri, 1924, p. 358).

It is difficult to establish the exact limits of the extension of the power of the Sāsānian kings in India, for the old historians use the name India in a vague sense, but the inscriptions on these drachms permit us to extend the eastern limits of the Sāsānian Empire to the countries of Sind, Multān and Rājputāna. In the absence of any positive evidence, it is not possible to determine whether the conquest was made by Shāpūr I (241-272) or his immediate successor to the throne. As Hormazd I (272/73) appears to be the first to assume the title of "Great Kushān, king of kings", it is natural to suppose that he aggrandized the empire. This king may possibly be the first to penetrate so far, the conquest of his predecessor may have been limited. The British Museum possesses a few copper coins of Shāpūr I, struck in the kingdom of the Kushāns, but unfortunately they are much defaced. The fragmentary inscriptions on these pieces are of no help to us. It is proper, therefore, to await the discovery of other coins of the same type,—specimens with clear and correct inscriptions, which may permit us to solve the question. According to the '*Kitāb-al-Fihrist*',¹³ Firōz was the viceroy of Khorāsān [that is the East], during the reigns of Shāpūr I and Hormazd I. It is, therefore, difficult to decide in whose reign these drachms were struck. These coins, however, authorise us to state that Sind, Multān

¹² 'Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*', ed. by Sāstri, 1924, p. 358.

¹³ Flügel und Roediger, p. 428, No. 26.

and Rājputāna were at that time in the hands of the Kushāns, and that their king was a vassal of Hormazd I, and possibly also of Shāpūr I

[Vincent Smith, in his invaluable 'Early History of India' (3rd ed., p. 273), has remarked that "Absolutely nothing positive is known concerning the means by which the renewed Persian influence, as proved by numismatic facts, made itself felt in the interior of India. Bahrām II is known to have conducted a campaign in Sistān, at some time between 277 and 294, but there is no record of any Sāsānian invasion of India in the third century, during which period all the ordinary sources of historical information dry up. No inscriptions certainly referable to that time have been discovered, and the coinage issued by merely local rulers, gives hardly any help. Certain 't is that two great paramount dynasties, the Kushān in Northern India, and the Andhra in the tableland of the Deccan, disappear together almost at the moment (A.D. 226) when the Arsacidan dynasty of Persia was superseded by the Sāsānian. It is impossible to avoid hazarding the conjecture that the three events may have been in some way connected, and that the Persianizing of the Kushān coinage of Northern India should be explained by the occurrence of an unrecorded Persian invasion. But the conjecture is unsupported by direct evidence."

If Vincent Smith had been alive today, he would have been delighted to find a confirmation of his suggestion of "an unrecorded Persian invasion" in the inscriptions on the drachms of Firoz and Hormazd I.

Vazurg Kūšān šāh was the official title of the Sāsānian viceroy of Khorāsān, that is the East, whereas the title *Vazurg Kūšān šāhān šāh* implies not only the actual suzerainty over the whole of the Kushān kingdom, but also over the hitherto independent Kābul valley and the Punjāb. The result of the wars of the Sāsānian kings in the East, must have been the recognition of their claim by the Kushān shāh and the Kushān kings of Kābul and the Punjāb, otherwise these titles could not have been assumed by the Sāsānian viceroy and the king.

On the obverse of a drachm of Bahrām I (273-276), the king bears the title of *Vazurg Kūšān* (see Moidtmann, in the 'Z. D. M. G.', 1880, p. 30, No. 82, and Paruck, 'Sāsānian Coins', p. 293 sq.) This fact implies that this king had retained possession of the Eastern provinces conquered by his predecessor on the throne.

From the Paikuli inscription we know that several vassal kings from remote parts of the empire had gone to Persia to express their allegiance on the occasion of the accession of Narses (293-303) to the throne. Among these vassals were the Kushānshāh, the king of Surāshtra (the modern Kāthiāwād and Kacch), the king of Avanti (the modern Mālwa) and twelve Saka kings of the adjoining hinterland. Thus we see at a glance the extent of the Indian dominions of the Sāsānian kings. One fact comes out clearly from this inscription that the Sāsānian kings had maintained their suzerainty over the countries conquered by their predecessors.

Ardashir I (224-241), in his inscriptions on rocks and coins, calls himself *šāhān šāh ī Erān*, whereas his son Shāpūr I (241-272) styles himself *šāhān šāh ī Erān ut Anērān* in his rock-cut inscriptions, but his son Hormazd I (272/73) and his successors to the throne bear the same

title on their coins. The extent of the Sāsānian Empire towards the East at the time of the death of Ardashir I is uncertain. The general belief appears to be that the earlier Sāsānian kings were too much engaged with Rome and Armenia to spare time for Eastern expeditions. Byzantine and oriental historians assert that the empire of Ardashir I extended to the Indus and the Oxus, and upon their authority Gibbon ('Decline and Fall', Vol I, p. 349) observes that this king had obtained easy victories over the wild Scythians and effeminate Indians. From a coin collected in the Jhelum district, Punjab, and from a statement made by Firsihta, the historian Vincent Smith ('J R A S', 1920, p. 221 sq.) has been able to show that Ardashir I had invaded the Punjab, advancing as far as the neighbourhood of Sirhind or the Satlaj, and then retired when the principal Indian monarch expressed his allegiance and paid tribute.

Anērān means 'non-Erān', and signifies the sovereignty over non-Erānian kingdoms. From the above mentioned titles, it appears that it was Shāpūr I, who had extended the realm beyond what was then known as Erān. On the obverse of one of the few known copper coins of Shāpūr I, struck in the kingdom of the Kushāns, there are traces of the inscription *Mazdēsn bagī Šabpūbrī Kūšān malkā* (see Herzfeld, 'Kushano-Sasanian Coins', Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 38, 1930, p. 25, fig. 16). The reason for this title was the conquest of the Kushān kingdom made by this king. From the coins of Shāpūr I, Firōz and Hormazd I, struck in the kingdom of the Kushāns, we now know the exact signification of the term *Anērān*. The name of Erān signified the whole upland country from Kurdistan to Afghānistān, whereas the name of *Anērān* was applied to the provinces in India conquered by the early Sāsānian kings.

The drachm of Hormazd I bears the inscription —

Obv.—inscr. around, beginning on r, upwards, *Mazdēsn bagī Aūhrmazdī rabā Kūšān malkān malkā*, to be read *Mazdēsn bage Obormazde vazurg Kūšān šāhān šāh* 'Mazdā-worshipping lord Hormazd, the great Kushān, king of kings'.

Rev.—inscr. beginning on top first line, downwards, *Aūhrmazdī rabā Kūšān malkān malkā*, on 1, upwards, (*malkā*) *Indī Iradatī*, on top second line, *Harēzī*].

N 3. We know that Hormazd II (303-310) had married a daughter of the Kushān king of Kābul. This fact has led several numismatists to attribute to Hormazd II, the two gold coins preserved in the British Museum. On these coins, the king calls himself "Hormazd the great Kushān, king of kings". From a comparison of these coins with the above-mentioned drachm (No. 2 of the present article), it seems a proper inference that these three coins were issued by the same king, that is Hormazd I.

The ideogram MLKY, 'royal',¹⁴ appears near the fire on the reverse of some Sāsānian coins. Mr Herzfeld¹⁵ considered its

¹⁴ See my book, p. 288.

¹⁵ 'Paikuli', pp. 46 and 217.

signification, at first, to be obscure and remarked that it was neither *shāb* nor *shābik*, but in his Memoir (pp 12-14) he reads it *shābīkān*, 'royal', and after having discussed his own suggestions, he concludes that the ideogram MLKY is a mint-mark of the city of Merv. As this ideogram appears above the fire, on the reverse of these two gold coins, he says that they were struck in Merv. But the inscriptions on these pieces prove that they were struck in the kingdom of the Kushāns. The city of Merv was never conquered by the Kushāns, it belonged to the Sāsānian king. It is, therefore, difficult to admit that these pieces, bearing such inscriptions, were issued by Hormazd I in Merv. It is surprising that Herzfeld did not recognise this difficulty which went contrary to his identification.

In his Memoir (p 15), he remarks that the only scientific method for establishing the attribution of the mint-marks to different mints, is to prove their continuity till the end of the Umayyad period. But it is singular that he has not followed this method himself. The ideogram MLKY is not found on the Arab coins, on the contrary, the name of the city is inscribed in full MRV. In order to show that the mint-marks appeared under the form of ideograms, he cites (p 14) the mark BBA and identifies it with Ctesiphon. He has failed to observe that this mark appeared on the coins of Yezdegerd III (632-651), dated the years 19 and 20, and after 20 years it reappeared on the Arab drachms bearing the bust of Khusrau III (590-628) and dated the year 40, though Ctesiphon was in the hands of the Arabs since 637. It may be noted that the year 40 is calculated after the era of Yezdegerd. But as this mark appears on the coins struck in the year of the death of Yezdegerd, it is probable that this mark indicates the city in the neighbourhood of Merv or Herāt. The identifications of Herzfeld cannot but surprise those who know the subject.

The obverse of the gold coins of Hormazd I resembles much that of the drachm (No 2 of the present article) of this king, the reverse is different. However, on the reverse, two analogous details arrest our attention: the presentation of the diadem by the personage to the right, and the nimbus around his head. Herzfeld¹⁶ sees in him Mithra, on account of the solar halo around his head. But how are we to admit that Mithra, the god of the *celestial* light, was figured as adorning a *terrestrial* fire? Obviously, this personage is the king of Sindh.

The coins Nos 1, 2 and 3, of the present article, are closely related and form a homogeneous series. The type of the reverse of the drachms of Firōz, in reality, resembles that of the drachm of Hormazd I, whereas the obverse of the gold coins and the drachm of Hormazd I bear the same inscription and the same bust of the king in almost every detail. The title of these kings shows that these coins were struck in the kingdom of the Kushāns. The drachms inform us, besides, that the personage seated on a throne, on the reverse, is the king of Sind. It is, therefore, reasonable to identify the personage, to the right on the reverse of the gold coins, with this king.

[The coins of Firōz and Hormazd I reveal to us an interesting fact that the Kushān king of Sind, Multān and Rājputāna was a Zoroastrian. The Kushān king would not have been represented, on one side of the fire-altar, as *hamā-zor* with the Sāsānian king, unless he was a follower of Zoroaster.

The inscription on the two gold coins of Hormazd I is —

Obv — inscr around, beginning on 1, upwards, *Mazdēsn bagī Aūbrmazdī rabā Kūšān malkān malkā*

Rev — the same inscr as on *obv*, but above fire, *malkey*, to be read *šābik*, 'royal'

For the reading and meaning of the inscriptions on the obverse and reverse, see the inscriptions on the drachm of Hormazd I given above.]

No 4. This drachm of Bahrām I (273-276) presents certain peculiarities, which are very interesting to study. The inscriptions on the two sides are ordinary. On the obverse, a rosette is found in the field to the right of the crown. The fire-altar, on the reverse, is of a design different to that found on the other coins of this king. It is formed of a pedestal of three steps and a fluted column supporting four slabs of stone forming the top. The mark SKSTAN (Sakastān) is inscribed above the fire. This is the earliest instance known of a mint-mark inscribed in full in the Sāsānian series of coins. I do not know of any other Sāsānian coin bearing this mark. To the left of the altar, the king stands wearing a crown adorned with spikes and surmounted by a globe, the hair and bearded in plaits as on the obverse. To the right, a personage stands wearing a round crown surmounted by a globe and having the hair in curls. Who is this personage? The mint-mark enlightens us about him. We know that the crown prince Bahrām had subjugated the Sakastānī (the Sakas), one of the most warlike of nations, and had obtained the title of Sakānshāh. It is probable that this drachm was struck after the conquest of the kingdom of Sakastān, which included the whole of the north-west of India, and that Bahrām Sakānshāh was represented on the reverse to

the right of the altar. The representation of the figure of the heir presumptive on the coins of a reigning king is not a rare case for there exist—we know certainly—instances of coins of this kind.

Vasmer¹⁷ describes a drachm of Bahrām I (273-276), in the Ermitage Museum (No 177), which bears on the reverse, to the right of the altar, a personage wearing a mural crown surmounted by a globe, and believes (p. 268 sq.) that this personage is Shāpūr I (241-272). It is difficult to admit that a deceased king was represented as a guardian of the fire consecrated in the name of the reigning king. This would be apotheosis, which would be contrary to the tenets of the religion of Zoroaster. By analogy with the above-mentioned coin, which is in my cabinet, we can be convinced that the personage is not Shāpūr I, but a member of the royal family, who was the viceroy (*shāh*) of one of the provinces where this drachm was struck. It appears to me to be certain that the personage, whom we find wearing a mural crown surmounted by a globe on the reverse of some coins of Bahrām II¹⁸ (276-293), is no other than this viceroy. This means that these coins were struck in the same and only province. Firdausī tells us that a prince ruling as the viceroy wore a crown and was called *shāh*. Noeldeke¹⁹ expresses the opinion that this observation indicates a characteristic trait of the Sāsānian custom. It appears that the wearing of the globe above the crown was not a prerogative of the king only. This right appears to have been ascribed to other members of the royal family on rare occasions. On the reverse to the left of the field of a hemi-drachm of Hormazd I (272/73), in the Ermitage Museum (No 162),²⁰ a personage is found wearing a petticoat and a mural crown surmounted by a globe. This personage is evidently the queen Shāpūr, son of Yezdegerd I (399-420), who was viceroy of Armenia, also wore a crown surmounted by a globe. The obol in the Bartholomaei Collection (pl. XI, fig. 18) is unfortunately pierced on the very spot where the globe ought to have been visible, but the obol, which is in my cabinet,²¹ shows the globe very distinctly. All coins of Jāmāsp (497-499) bear the bust of a prince wearing a crown surmounted by a globe. A gold coin of

17 'Numismatic Chronicle', 1928, p. 274, No. 24.

18 'Bartholomaei Collection', Pl. IV.

19 'Das Iranische Nationalepos' in the 'Grundriss der iranischen Philologie', Vol. II, p. 171, and 'Tabari', p. 49, note 2.

20 Vasmer, *op. cit.*, p. 267, No. 20.

21 Paruck in the 'Revue Numismatique', 1933, pl. VI, fig. 6.

Kobād I (488-531), in the Ermitage Museum,²² shows on the reverse the full-length figure of the crown prince Khusrau wearing a crown surmounted by a globe.

Vasmer (p. 268 sq.) asserts, moreover, that the personage wearing a round crown surmounted by a globe, having plaited hair and beard, and standing to the right of the altar, on the five coins of Bahrām I (273-276), in the Ermitage Museum, is Ardashīr I (224-241). As I have already remarked above, it is not probable that a deceased king was represented as a guardian of the fire consecrated in the name of the reigning king. Thanks to the kindness of Mr. Vasmer, I have received the casts of the 31 coins of this king, preserved in the Ermitage Museum. After examining these casts, I find that on the reverse of the five specimens in question, the crown of the king and that of the other personage are similar and without spikes. Of the remaining twenty-six specimens, there are no less than sixteen pieces on the reverse of which the crown of the king is without spikes. This omission is not rare on several other coins of this king examined by me. This shows that the personage to the right of the altar, on the above-mentioned five coins, is not Ardashīr I, but that the reigning king is represented on either side of the altar.

A personage wearing a mural crown without globe is represented on either side of the fire-altar on the reverse of most of the coins of Shāpūr I (241-272). A similar personage appears almost always to the right of the fire-altar, the left side being reserved for the reigning king, on most of the coins of Hormazd I (272/73), and of his successors to the throne up to Hormazd II (303-310). We cannot conceive the idea that the one and the same person was represented on the coins of seven successive kings for a period of about seventy years (241-310). In all probability, the mural crown without globe was, therefore, an insignia of honour for a person holding an eminent rank.

We know what dominant role the questions of rank and title played in the life of the Persians of the Sāsānian period. The royal custom to distinguish a person by giving him a robe of honour was very ancient. A crown or a diadem was the greatest mark of honour next to the royal rank. When the king gave to someone a tiara, this implied the right to occupy a place at the royal table and to take part in the council of the

22 See my book, pl XVIII, fig. 394.

king Even foreigners were admitted in the classes of the very eminent²³

As for the series of the supreme officials of the central administration, we owe to Mas'ūdī,²⁴ an interesting notice This Arab author says that the highest officers of the State, among the Persians, were five of whom the first rank was held by the *mōbedān mōbed* (the high priest) Ya'qūbī²⁵ has given a list of the most important dignitaries of the Sāsānian State Immediately after the king of kings, he mentions the *wazurg framādār* (the prime minister) and then the *mōbedān mōbed* Mr Christensen (p 30) has reason to remark that, concerning the five supreme posts of the empire, there is no doubt that Mas'ūdī has given exactly as he found them in the old royal almanac (*gābnāmak*) Thus, the order, which Ya'qūbī has observed in his enumeration, responds almost to the real situation of the time of Khusrau I (531-579) According to the 'Denkard',²⁶ the *mōbedān mōbed* came after the king

From this, we may conclude that the personage wearing a mural crown without globe, represented on the reverse of most of the coins of the early Sāsānian kings, was the *mōbedān mōbed*, the superior of all the *mōbeds*, the great pontiff or the Pope of the Zoroastrian world It was quite natural that the head of the State and the head of the Church were the guardians of the sacred fire

Mr Vasmer (p 299 sq) expresses the opinion that the weapon held by the king and the priest is not a sword, but a bundle of *barsom* Such questions should be interpreted in the light of the religious cult and the historical traditions of the period There is no ceremony in the sacred writings of the Zoroastrians in which the *barsom* is held near the fire, precisely as it is represented on the coins The king and the priest are represented in the attitude of guardians of the sacred fire (the holy warrior), that is as defenders of the faith [In the Avestā, fire is called 'the holy warrior'] The proper weapon for this service is a sword Sir J C Coyajee²⁷ has conclusively proved that the figure with the solar halo around his head, on the Tāq-i Bostān,

23 A Christensen, 'L' Empire des Sassanides', p 99 sq

24 'Kitāb at-tanbih wa'l-i'rāf', ed by Goeje, 'Bibl geogr Arab' Vol VIII, p 103, cited by Christensen, *op cit*, p 30

25 Ed by Houtsma, Vol I, p 202, cited by Christensen, *op cit*, p 30

26 Ed by Sanjana, Vol VI, p 423

27 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal', 1926, pp 391-409

is Bahrām *yazata*, the angel of victory, and that the weapon, which he holds in his hands, is a sword. On comparing the length of the weapon on the Sāsānian coins with that of the figure on the Tāq, it seems to be certain that the weapon represented on the coins is really a sword. An equal comparison with the weapon held by the king on the Persid coins of the third series, during the first century before Christ, would give the same result. There appears to be a remarkable resemblance between the figure on the Tāq, and those of the king and the priest on Sāsānian coins, and also that of the king on the Persid coins, as regards the attitude and the manner of holding the sword. Obviously, it was a regulation manner to present the weapon in religious ceremonies. Other ways of holding the sword or other weapons on similar occasions are also found on Sāsānian coins.

The gradual tendency to identify or to confuse the attribute of the sacred fire (the holy warrior) and Bahrām *yazata* (the angel of victory) was complete some centuries before Ardashīr I (224-24) succeeded the Arsacids. It must be remembered that we treat an epoch of syncretisms. We know from the 'Kārnamak' that this king had established sacred fires of Bahrām, in order to procure favourable auspices. This identification is also found in the establishment of other fires of Bahrām in Persia and also by the Pārsis in India. The angel Mithra was the guardian angel of the Achaemenians and the Arsacids, whereas the angel Bahrām was of the Sāsānians. The 'Kārnamak' and the 'Shāhnāma' both attribute to this angel the good fortune which Ardashīr had to escape from the great dangers which threatened him. On Sāsānian coins we often find kings and even a queen and a prince wearing crowns ornamented with crests representing the eagle, the boar, the horse and the ram, which all are the incarnations of the same angel. On all important occasions, the Sāsānian kings testified their devotion to their guardian angel. It may be interesting to remark that this angel remains the same even at the present time as the guardian angel of the followers of Zoroaster. From the description of the characteristics of Bahrām *yazata*, such as given in 'Bahrām Yasht' (verses 26-27),²⁸ we know that this angel is the best armed of the heavenly deities, and that he holds a sword with a golden blade (or a golden hilt, according to other translators). Even at the present day, in almost all the temples the sword is kept fastened on one of the walls of the room where

the sacred fire is installed. This fact may corroborate the opinion that, according to this identification, the sword is a necessary attribute of the sacred fire (the holy warrior) and of Bahrām yazata, the angel of victory.

No 5. On certain coins of Bahrām II (276-293), it is difficult to determine the animal represented above the crown of the queen and that of the prince. Vasmer²⁹ has remarked that what we have taken for the head of an eagle above the crown of the prince, on certain coins, is rather that of a lion. Similarly, I propose to mention certain coins on which the head appears to me to be that of a horse instead of a boar. It must be admitted that these animals are generally so badly engraved that it is sometimes difficult to determine whether the head is that of a boar or that of a horse. The drachm of this king, which is the subject of this note, bears the head of a horse above the crown of the queen and that of the prince. A similar piece was described by Mordtmann³⁰. With the help of the specimen, which is in my cabinet, I am able to determine that on the following coins the head represented is that of a horse and not that of a boar.

I. Type with the bust of the king and the prince

Above the crown of the prince

A drachm in the Ermitage Museum³¹

II. Type with the busts of the king, the queen and the prince

A. *Above the crown of the queen*

1. A gold coin in the Berlin Museum³²

2. A drachm in the Ermitage Museum (No 214)

B. *Above the crown of the prince*

A drachm in the cabinet of the author³³

C. *Above the crowns of the queen and the prince*

1. A drachm in the British Museum³⁴

2. An obol in the British Museum³⁵

3. An obol in the Ermitage Museum (No 219)

4. A gold coin in the Zubow Collection preserved in the Historical Museum in Moscow³⁶

FURDOONJEE D J PARUCK

²⁹ *Op cit.*, p 290

³⁰ 'ZDMG', 1880, p 158, No 547

³¹ Vasmer, *op cit.*, pl XV, fig 32

³² See my book pl VI, fig 133

³³ See my book, pl VII, fig 144

³⁴ See my book, pl VII, fig 134

³⁵ See my book, pl VII, fig 158

³⁶ Vasmer in 'Numismatik international Monatsschrift', Oct - Nov, 1933, p 111, fig 12

SOME RARE AND UNPUBLISHED COINS OF THE SINDHIAS

[Plates X-XI]

For a study of the coins of the Sindhias it is necessary to follow up the history of the growth and rise of this dynasty which once influenced the history of the whole of India. The later Mughals were Emperors in name and nothing but their name is connected with the coinage of India during the 18th and 19th centuries. After the invasion of Nadir in 1739, during the reign of Muhammad Shah most of the States and local authorities took over the control of currency in their own hands and consequently a number of mints sprang up. Almost every important district town had a mint during the sway of the Marathas. This holds good in the case of the Sindhias as well. We are here dealing with only a few of such mints. Though the name of the Mughal Emperor and his regnal year with the corresponding Hijri date appear on these coins, they must be assigned to the Sindhias on historical grounds. An overhauling re-examination, based on this theory, of coins assigned to later Mughals hitherto, is in hand. In the meanwhile, some coins in the cabinet of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, that can be assigned to the Sindhias without any fear of contradiction, are being published here in order of mints. Coins Nos 1 to 6 are silver, the remainder are copper coins.

SHEOPUR.

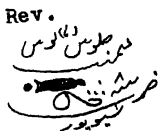
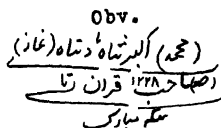
Sheopur, commonly known as Sheopuri or Sipri, is a district town of the Gwalior State situated in $25^{\circ} 40'$ N and $76^{\circ} 42'$ E on the right bank of the river Sip. The town and the fort here are said to have been founded by Gaur-Rajputs in 1537. In 1567 the fort was surrendered to Akbar during his march to Chittor. In 1808 the country fell to Daulat Rao Sindhia. He granted this place and the adjoining tract to his general Jean Baptist Filose, who wrested the fort from the Gaurs in 1809.*

It is said that Sindhia's general mentioned above established

* Imp Gaz, Vol XXII, P 271-72

a mint at Sheopur with a cannon surmounted on a gun carriage as mint mark. It is not possible without a reference to the records of the State to say exactly when this mint was closed. But from the evidence of coins mentioned below it can be safely said that the mint was working down to the end of the reign of Jiyaji Rao II (1843 to 1886). The mint is not mentioned in I M C, Vol IV. W. H. Valentine does not seem to have been aware of the existence of coins from this Mint. They were, however, dealt with in a paper entitled "Notes on Coins of Native States" by R. Hoernle as early as 1897 in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Vol LXVI, part I), wherein he has given a short description of coins based almost entirely on materials supplied to him by Mr. C. Maires, the then Curator of the Museum and Superintendent of the Horticultural Garden at Gwalior at the suggestion of His Highness the then Maharaja of Gwalior. This article includes many rare coins though the assignment in some cases needs revision. The coins put under Seorha, Ciopur and Sipri mints can all be grouped together under Sheopur. These coins are locally known as Sheopuri or Topshahi rupees. There are three specimens of this in our cabinet. All are in the name of Akbar II with his regnal year and the corresponding Hijri date. No. 1 was issued during the reign of Daulat Rao Sindhia while Nos. 2 and 3 belong to Jiyajirao, who seems to have continued the name and regnal year of Akbar II throughout, like the Holkars of Indore, irrespective of the change of rulers and events at Delhi. Coin No. 3, for instance, bears the R. Y. 113 of Akbar II corresponding with the Hijri year 1333 (1886 A.D.) when neither the ruler nor the Mughal empire existed any more.

1

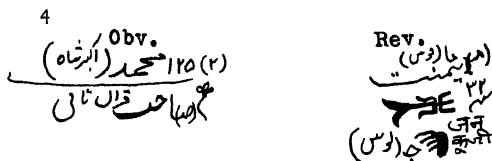


2 Same as above in a crude caligraphy with the date 1271 on the obverse above صاحب of and the initial letter جی of Jiyajirao on سہ on the reverse.

3 Same as above except the Regnal year 113 which can be seen on both the sides of the coin.


BASODA

Basoda is a small portion of Gwalior State comprising about 23 villages bordering on Bhopal and is under the Bhopal agency. It is under the chiefship of a family of Nawabs tracing their establishment from the middle of the 18th century. In 1817 Basoda fell into the hands of Sindhiyas and the coins said to have been issued from this mint bear the name of Jankoji on the reverse in Devanagari characters. The mint marks, however, resemble those of Bhopal, viz, a trident on shaft and a chauri or flywhisk on the reverse and the date is the 32nd regnal year of Akbar II together with corresponding Hijri date 1252, i.e., 1836 A.D. The coin reads —




There is no mint name to be seen on this coin. Out of about half a dozen coins noticed by me, not a single coin showed any trace of the mint name. All the same Mr Hoernle has assigned a similar coin to this mint and it is locally also known as Basodi rupee. Hence it is given here. Possibly a collective study of a hoard of these coins may give a definite clue.

ISAGADH

5 Like the Basoda rupees, on the basis of local nomenclature, Hoernle has assigned a rupee and half rupee to the mint Isagadh*. Isagadh is a district town in Gwalior State, formerly belonging to the Rajas of Chanderi. It is divided into four Parganas with headquarters at Bajranggad, Kumbhraj, Isagadh and Mungaoti. Hoernle describes the coins as having the legend *صاحب قریب* on the obverse and *جنگو جی* on the reverse with the symbols of two cannons, one above the other, below the legend and  above the upper cannon on the obverse, and on the reverse two cannons similarly placed with the letter *ज* (ja) to the left and a bow and an arrow below. We have a

* J B A S, 1897, P 266, Nos 22 & 23, Pl XXII

similar coin in the Prince of Wales Museum cabinet. The mint name cannot be seen on this coin too, but what Hoernle takes as two cannons are the strokes of ت of میمنت and ب of ضرب respectively on the reverse and the strokes ے of غازی and ئے respectively on the obverse. The letter ج stands for Jankoji. The legend on our coin being of a better caligraphy clears the mystery of the two cannons on either side. It has the usual legend of Akbar II with the letter ج and the symbol of bow and arrow on the reverse and the mark  on the obverse, the explanation of which I have not yet been able to find.

6. There is another silver coin in the aforesaid cabinet which does not show any mint name but can be safely assigned to Jankoji Sindhia. It has the usual legend of Akbar II on the obverse with the Hijri date 1248 corresponding with 1833, the year in which Jankoji took over the reins of administration from the queen regent Baijabaï. The reverse bears the fragmentary portions of the usual legend of جالس میمنت مانوس with two symbols, bow and arrow and a battle axe with the regnal year 28 (of Akbar II). The initial letter ج standing for Jankoji can be seen placed upside down in the middle.

BURHANPUR.

Burhanpur is at present a tahsil town in the Nimar district of the Central Provinces. During the Muhammadan rule it played a very important part in the history of India and had all along been a mint town. The issues of the Mughals begin from Akbar's conquest of this place in 1600 A.D. In 1760 Burhanpur was ceded by the Nizam to the Peshwa who, after 18 years, transferred the place to Sindhia. The old mint continued even during this period down to the year 1860 when the British finally got possession of the place. Coins of the Burhanpur mint assigned to the later Mughals after 1720 A.D. need revision. Mr. H. N. Wright, in his Catalogue of Mughal Coins in the Indian Museum, is inclined to assign coins Nos. 2346 and 2347 included therein to the Sindhias who had complete control over the finances and administration of the place. Even the crude caligraphy and the symbols on the coins point towards the same direction. Coins of this mint, therefore, issued after 1760 A.D. even in the name of the Mughal emperors must be

assigned to the Sindhias. A study of the marks on these coins shows that in the earlier stages they bore the same Mughal mint mark (No 105 I M C III) of a tree which continued in a cruder form and was finally changed into a flower. To this mark was added the trident or a snake at a later stage.

It is usually noticed that the coins issued by local authorities or various Indian States invariably bear the name of the Mughal emperor till 1275, i.e. 1857 A.D., the date of the Indian Mutiny which finally closed the possibility of the revival of the Mughal rule in India. From this date the States began to have their coins in their own names instead of the Mughal Emperor's or substituted it, with that of the British sovereign. But from the coins published herewith, it appears that as early as 1260, i.e. 1842 A.D. the Sindhias had already introduced their own title of Alijah Bahadur on the coins. Let us now see some coins of this mint issued by the Sindhias.

7 This is a dumpy copper coin with big Persian letters showing only the word **ساز** of **ساز عالم** on the obverse and the word **مرب** with the Mughal Mint mark of a tree.

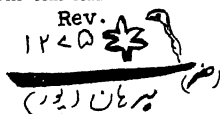
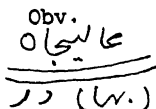
8 This is similar to No 7 but bears the inverse stamp of **ساز عالم** on the obverse, which is evidently the die cutter's mistake while introducing this new legend. The obverse though indistinct shows the same mint mark clearly.

9 This is a similar copper coin with the mistake corrected. The obverse has **ساز** of **ساز عالم** in the first line and a part of **بندر** while on the reverse we find the central mint mark changed into a five petalled flower with a snake to the right which is also a symbol of the Sindhias used even to this day on the copper issues in a modified form. We also find the figure 60 to the left of the flower which is without doubt meant to be preceded by 12. In the lowest line can be read letters reading **هان** evidently of Burhanpur. So, this is definitely a coin issued by Madho Rao in 1260 A.H. from Burhanpur mint.

10 This is a similar coin of Madho Rao Sindhia issued from this mint in the year 1275 A.H., i.e. 1857 A.D.

The legend on this coin is the same on the obverse while the reverse shows the symbols of the flower and snake prominently with the date (1) 275. The lower margin shows traces of the mint mark.

11 This is the same as No 10 but the specimen being clearer affords an easier reading The coin reads —



On some coins of this type we find the mint name written in the original form as برهاندر

UJJAIN

Ujjain is a very ancient town and from a very remote age of the punchmarked coins down to the advent of the British rule, coins were issued from this place by the respective ruling powers at different intervals. It has been the capital of Malwa (the ancient Avanti of the Malava desh). Like Burhanpur, Ujjain also fell to the Sindhias during the declining period of the later Mughals. In 1726, Ranoji Sindhia, founder of the present house of Gwalior got the right to collect chauth (25%) and Sardeshmukhi (10%) in the Malwa district on behalf of the Peshwa Bajirao I and was allowed the remaining (65%), Mokassa for himself. He fixed up his capital at Ujjain and carried on the administration of the Province till his death in 1745. It remained the capital of the Sindhias' dominions till the year 1810 when the headquarters were removed to Gwalior.

As the mint marks or symbols of the Sindhias, he adopted a dagger or a sword, an emblem of bravery and a trident, an emblem of Shiva who is the presiding deity of the town, being sacred to the Hindus. Ujjain is the abode of Mahankaleswara, one of the 12 Jyotirlingas of Shiva. Thus their religious zeal and military spirit are both depicted on the coins of the Sindhias. We have, for instance, a number of coins in the name of the later Mughals with one or both of these symbols on them. They must be assigned to the Sindhias and not to the Mughals, as has been done hitherto. Under the mint note of Ujjain in Vol. III, Nelson Wright has himself made it clear that the series of coins on P. 295-96 of that Catalogue can only by courtesy be called Mughal coins. They all bear the distinctive mark (sword) of the Sindhias. In a later stage these coins and specially the copper coins had very little of the legend while the symbols occupied the prominent position.

12 This is a copper coin of the Ujjain series with a sword on the obverse in the centre with a fragment of س and a trident in the س of perhaps حارس and traces of مائوس above on the reverse. There is no date or mint name to be seen but the symbols are indicative enough of the mint and the issuing authority.

13 This is a coin with a different type of dagger with fragments of usual legend مائوس ميمدب حارس on the reverse side below and a part of عالنجاه above on the reverse and some letters reading like بائراجاه (Bai Bajai) with the date 12 on the obverse. Can this be a coin of Baijabai issued during her regency between 1827 and 1833? This requires further investigation.

14 This coin has the year 16 on the obverse and a prominently placed dagger of the type of coin No. 13 on the reverse.

15 This is a dumpy coin with a shorter dagger surrounded by a dotted border leaving practically no space for any inscription on the obverse, on the reverse, while the upper half of the coin is worn out, the lower half shows crude writing which can be read on some coins of this type as حين of Ujjain. This mint name together with the dagger help in assigning these coins to the Sindhis. It is, however, impossible to assign them to any ruler.

16 Similar to No. 15 on the obverse while the reverse bears a trident surrounded by dots which is again a Ujjain symbol of the Sindhis.

17 There is still a third variety of dagger to be noticed on this coin with a similar dotted border on the obverse and a trident in the lower two thirds of the reverse with a horizontal line above. There are traces of some letters in the left corner one of which is evidently صرب.

18 Obverse, similar to No. 17 while the reverse has a few dots and lines which cannot be explained.

19 This small coin bears the name of Muhammad Shah who ruled from 1131 to 1161 A.H. He was a weak ruler and most of the States issued coins in his name with their own distinctive symbols. Here we have a trident, the Ujjain mint mark of the Sindhis, on the reverse with 57 as a part of the date 1157. This falls within the administration of the founder

of the dynasty Ranoji who was in power at Ujjain between 1139 and 1158 A H We may, therefore, assign this coin to Ranoji Sindhia The arrangement of the coin is as under —

Obv.

محمد شاه
بادشاہ

Rev.

حاکم
ایلی

20 This coin is similar in size and legends to No 19 but the legend on the obverse is more fragmentary in as much as only $\frac{1}{3}$ of شاه بادشاہ can be seen on the obverse while on the reverse we have fragments of حاکم ایلی and میدان مانوس with two symbols—a trident (of Ujjain) and a tree (the mint mark of Burhanpur) It cannot be said which of the Sindhias issued this coin with both the mint marks together, but it seems to have been issued, definitely later than No 19 and earlier than Nos 7 to 10 The mint is uncertain

21 This is a square copper coin having on the obverse شاه with date 30 and a six petalled flower which may be a further corrupted form of the Burhanpur mint mark On the reverse there is a line dividing the coin diagonally in proportion of $\frac{2}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{3}$ The larger area shows a part of the trident and inverted fragment حاکم of حاکم The traces of letters in the remaining portion are illegible If we take 30 to be the RY of Akbar II, the coin can be assigned to Jijajirao (1827-1843 A D)

22 This is similar to No 21, but the date on شاه of the obverse side is 106 which, if taken as a continued regnal year of Akbar II, corresponds with 1306 A H which falls during the reign of Madho Rao Sindhia

23 to 26 Like the above coins there is still another variety which bears the flower of Burhanpur on the obverse and a trident of Ujjain on the reverse in modified forms These coins can be safely said to be the forerunners of the current Gwalior pice The arrangement on these coins is as under —

Obv.

شاه
بادشاہ

Rev.

حاکم
ایلی

Obv —A shafted lance to the left and the snake above the flower mark to the right with the letter ज्ञी (standing for Jayajirao) in the middle with 2 or 12 below, which may be a part of the Hijri date twelve hundred and odd

Rev —An ordinary or a shafted trident with the trace of a date standing probably for the regnal year with ل of حارس placed upside down

All the four coins seem to have been issued by Jiyaji. They are illustrated here to facilitate a collective study and to show slight differences in each of them in the ornamentation of the trident and lance

The mint is uncertain. Possibly they may have been issued from Gwalior by Jiyajirao

In Vol IV of the Catalogue of the Indian Museum, we have a dynastic list of the Sindhuas beginning from Daulat Rao. But as in this paper we have dealt with the coins of earlier rulers as well, it would not be out of place to give a list of all the rulers of that dynasty from the founder down to the present ruler with Hijri and A D dates for ready reference

		AH	AD
(1)	Ranoji	1139-1158	1726-1745
(2)	Jayappa or Jiyaji I	1158-1173	1745-1759
(3)	Jankoji	1173-1175	1759-1761
	(He was killed in the third battle of Panipat)		
(4)	Mahadji	1175-1209	1761-1794
(5)	Daulatrao	1209-1243	1794-1827
(6) (a)	Bajabai (Queen Regent)	1243-1249	1827-1833
	(b) Jankoji Rao	1243-1259	1827-1843
	(He assumed power in 1833)		
(7)	Jayajirao II	1259-1302	1843-1886
(8)	Madho Rao	1302-1341	1886-1925
	(Obtained powers in 1894 on attaining majority)		
(9) (a)	Court of Regency	1341-1353	1925-1936
	(b) Jeewaji Rao —	The present ruler installed in	
		1936 AD	

THE LAW OF TREASURE TROVE IN INDIA AND THE PRACTICE IN DEALING WITH IT *

The method by which the East India Company dealt with cases of treasure trove is described in Harrington's *Analysis of the Bengal Laws and Regulations* (Vol III, p 764) At the outset, probably following the practice of Mughal governors, the Company appears to have claimed everything found As this led to oppression a proclamation was issued in 1777 declaring that, for the future, 'all treasure shall be the property of those who may discover it' This sweeping renunciation of claims was modified later by a resolution that it should apply only to cases where the treasure found did not exceed a lac of rupees Hidden treasure which exceeded that amount should be at the disposal of government if no owner was ascertained Inquiry was then made from the law officers of the Court of Sadar Diwani (or chief civil court) to ascertain the provisions of Muhammadan and Hindu law, and as their reports differed materially from each other it was decided to lay down uniform principles

According to Hindu texts, as quoted by the Pandits, a learned Brahman who found a treasure was entitled to the whole If the king himself discovered a treasure he should give half to the Brahmans and retain the rest Opinions differed as to the rights of other finders Manu and Yājñavalkya declared that the finder might keep one-sixth but must surrender the rest to the king Gautama would give the whole to the king except a trifle to the finder Visnu would distinguish cases as the finder was a Ksatriya, a Vaisya or a Śūdra, making each of them surrender a stated portion both to the king and to Brahmans The Pandits thought that Manu's dictum should be followed

The Muslim law officers drew a distinction between treasure which bore a distinctly Mussalman impression such as the Kalima, a verse from the Qoran or the name of a Muhammadan

* We are indebted to Sir Richard Burn for obtaining permission for the re-publication of his valuable paper in this Journal so that the important information contained in it may be available to numismatists and collectors in India As the paper was originally published in the *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress*, 1936, it has been revised and brought up-to-date by Rao Bahadur K N Dikshit, M A, F R A S B, Director General of Archaeology in India and President of the Numismatic Society of India—Ed, J N S I

king, and treasure bearing other impressions such as the image of an idol, or the name of a non-Muslim king. Muslim treasure became the property of the finder if after he had advertised it properly no claimant proved a title to it. It was added that if the finder were a rich person he must bestow it in alms upon the poor, though the proper recipients might be his parents, children, or wives.

Of non-Muslim treasure the king was entitled to a share of one-fifth, and the finder to the remainder if the treasure was found in waste land. The authorities differed as to the rights of the finder when the find-spot lay in appropriated land, some giving the four-fifths not to him but to the person to whom that land was first granted after the subjugation of the country by the faithful, or to his heirs. But it was said to be the universally received opinion that when an existing proprietor laid claim to the trove, declaring that it was deposited by himself, his declaration was to be credited.

Regulation 5 of 1817 embodied in law the rules for dealing with cases. It applied to hidden treasure consisting of gold or silver coin, or bullion, or precious stones or other valuable property found buried in the earth or otherwise concealed, and it laid down a procedure of inquiry. A finder was required to notify his discovery within one month to the district or city judge, and to deposit the treasure in court. Failure to notify rendered him liable to lose his rights to it. The discovery was advertised and a period of six months allowed for claim. Any claim of title made was inquired into, and if no right was proved the finder received the whole treasure up to a value of one lac, any excess going to government. An appeal lay from the judge's order to the provincial court. Revenue officers had to bring forward any claim of right which government might appear to possess.

Similar provisions were enacted for the Madras Presidency in 1832 and 1838, and were applied to territories acquired later, such as the Punjab, Oudh, the Central Provinces, and Burma. They remained in force till 1878, when Act VI of that year replaced them. The reasons for new legislation are of interest. It was found very doubtful what law was actually in force in the Bombay Presidency outside the city. In the three Presidency towns of Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta it was not certain what law applied and it was thought probable that English law was in force there. The Regulation of 1817 had been found to give inducements to the finder to conceal or make away with his treasure. Sir Stuart Bayley when he introduced the Bill stated

that in the last thirty years he had known no case in which government had benefitted by a share, as no trove had been reported exceeding 1 lakh in value

By the new Act which is still in force treasure is now defined as 'anything of any value hidden in the soil, or in anything affixed thereto' A finder of treasure exceeding in amount or value ten rupees is required to give notice in writing to the Collector of the district showing the nature and amount or approximate value of the treasure, the place where it was found and the date of finding, and he either deposits the treasure in a government treasury or gives security for its production when required A notification is then published calling for claims on a date between four and six months later Notice is also given to the person in possession of the place where the treasure was found if he was not the finder

If the Collector sees reason to believe that the treasure was hidden within 100 years before the date of finding by a person who appears, or by some other under whom such person claims, he adjourns the inquiry to allow the claimant to establish his right in a civil court Failing such a decision and where the treasure appears to be more than 100 years old the Collector may declare the treasure 'ownerless', subject to an appeal by any aggrieved person to the Chief Revenue Authority If there is a dispute as to the ownership of the land a period is allowed for decision by the civil court When all these questions are decided the law provides that in the absence of any agreement to the contrary the finder takes three-fourths and the owner of the land one-fourth

But when treasure has been declared 'ownerless' the Collector may acquire all or any part of it on behalf of government, and in that case he values the amount to be acquired at a sum equal to the value of the materials of such treasure or portion together with one-fifth of such value

This provision for acquisition by government at a price fixed by the intrinsic value of the treasure plus a definite percentage was explained by Sir S. Bayley as borrowed from a law in force in Denmark which had had the result of making the government collection of national antiquities in that country the finest then existing It is gratifying to know that the working of Act VI of 1878 has certainly improved the official collections of coins in India

Penalties for failing to report finds have been made more severe, as a finder who does not give notice is liable not only to forfeit his share, but also to fine and imprisonment And the

owner of the place of finding, if he abets the finder, may also lose his share and be fined and imprisoned

Now we pass on to the measures taken to advise government as to what specimens should be acquired by the Collector on its behalf when the treasure consists of coins. In 1884 the Government of India issued a resolution to guide Local Governments in this matter, as the power of making rules under the Act of 1878 was vested in them. They were advised to frame rules directing that Collectors should invariably acquire for government all old coins not of British mintage. They were then to send the coins to the Asiatic Society of the Presidency in which the coins had been discovered for report on the nature of the coins and their numismatic value. Specimens worth acquiring were to be given to certain public collections in a specified order and the rest sold at the mints. The instructions that all coins should be acquired was modified almost immediately and discretion was allowed, though in some provinces indiscriminate acquisition continued. It was reported that the Madras branch of the Royal Asiatic was practically defunct and coins found in that Presidency were examined by the authorities of the museum. Other variations were made from time to time in the arrangements for skilled examination which need not be detailed. In 1899 it became necessary to reconsider this matter in the United Provinces where coins had latterly been examined at the Lucknow Museum and the Government decided to appoint a small committee of persons interested in numismatics, one of whom acted as secretary and prepared a detailed report which was circulated to other members for their criticisms and also contained proposals in regard to the acquisition and distribution of specimens. At that time and almost continuously since then members were and have been available whose joint interests covered the entire field of coins found in the United Provinces.

In 1905 the Director-General of Archaeology, Mr (now Sir) John Marshall, referred the whole question to the Government of India at the instance of the late Mr Henry Cousens, who was in charge of the Archaeological Survey of Western India. Mr Cousens pointed out that though he was examining on behalf of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and reporting on treasure trove found in Bombay, the Poona Museum which was in his charge received no specimens as it was not on the list drawn up by the Government of India twenty years earlier. Inquiries showed that the Asiatic Society of Bengal was still responsible for examining coins from Bengal, Assam, Bihar,

the Central Provinces, and the Punjab, while Dr (now Sir Aurel) Stein examined those found in the North-West Frontier Province, and the arrangements in Madras, Bombay, and the United Provinces were as already described. It was also ascertained that the procedure in Bengal had not been satisfactory. Before Mr Nelson Wright was appointed Honorary Numismatist to the Society in 1905, no detailed record of each find was maintained, though in the past scholars like Blochmann and Hoernle had published accounts of specially interesting discoveries. Some local governments were unable to say what had become of treasure they had sent to Calcutta. Official attitude is sometimes sceptical about the value of such things. In 1891 a Secretary to the Government of India wrote in criticism of a proposal to purchase a celebrated collection

'There is perhaps no very useful object gained in making a complete collection of coins any more than in making a complete collection of postage stamps. Every new coin found may be of historical use and interest, but known coins described already are of little use and cost a good deal. If required for comparison duplicate sets can be obtained at any time from the British Museum. It is doubtful, therefore, if any encouragement should be given to the purchase of known coins merely for the purpose of making a collection more perfect.'

I have heard a similar expression of belief by the author of a well-known book on the history of an Oriental country more recently, but I do not find it shared by the Keeper of the Coins in the British Museum or by his assistants. Fortunately it was not shared by the Government of India, which in 1907 issued general orders that still govern the main principles of dealing with treasure trove.

In the first place they laid stress on the importance of recording the origin, surroundings, and exact nature of each find, pointing out that such a record might be of value for two reasons: it might throw light on the history of the place of discovery, or it might give a clue to the attribution and arrangement of different series of coins. To secure such records the value of which increases with their number and accuracy local governments were asked to communicate with the Director-General of Archaeology, who undertook to maintain a list of persons who were competent and willing to examine coins and prepare reports on them. At present every Province and many of the larger States have been able to make satisfactory arrangements for examination, and I hope that records are being maintained. Rai Bahadur

Prayag Dayal, Curator of the Lucknow Museum, who is Secretary to the Committee in the United Provinces, tells me that for the last thirty-six years they have detailed records filed in the Museum of 95,326 coins which have been received as treasure trove. It not infrequently happens that finds are reported the intrinsic value of which is less than Rs 10. In such cases the practice in the United Provinces is to offer the numismatic value, and many coins have been acquired in that way.

One important provision made by the Government of India in 1921 deserves attention. According to the Treasure Trove Act the finder of a treasure is entitled only to one-fifth of the value in addition to the intrinsic or bullion value of a treasure. In order to induce the finders of treasure of exceptional value to report the discovery, special rewards are now allotted to the legal claimants by the Director General of Archaeology in the case of valuable finds. A reward of Rs 500/- was given in accordance with this provision for the find of an exceptionally rich hoard of Bengal Sultāns at Keteen in the Dacca District.

It is gratifying to find that the lead of British India in respect of the Treasure Trove Act and the regulations thereunder is followed by several of the forward Indian States, and such of the States as have not yet enacted such laws have agreed to adopt the provisions in dealing with finds of Treasure Trove within their jurisdiction.

Arrangements for publication vary. Important finds are often described in detail in various journals, while annual notices are published in Museum or Archaeological Reports and the Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India include a summary of all such notices as are received by the department. Beginning with the present issue information regarding Treasure Trove will be published in the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India. Since 1931 a note on Indian numismatics has appeared in the *Annual Bibliography* published by the Kern Institute at Leyden.

After examination, the question of the disposal of the coins arises, and in 1907 it was decided to alter the order in which collections had been arranged for the receipt of duplicates. First choice is given to the principal museum in the Province in which a treasure has been found. It had been argued that the Indian Museum should come first, or that a rare coin should go to the Museum nearest the place where it had been struck. But it was pointed out that local enthusiasm had made several Provincial Museums richer in various series than the Indian Museum and

that students would be more likely to visit their own institutions than Calcutta. And to the second argument it was replied that modern territorial divisions did not coincide with ancient kingdoms. The Indian Museum was, therefore, placed next after the provincial museum, and the remaining official museums in India, numbering about a dozen at that time, were ranged in order of the importance of their existing collections. After supplying specimens to all these, the British Museum was named, and then local museums in a province maintained by universities or other non-official bodies. If coins of real numismatic value turn up in numbers more than sufficient to supply all institutions on the list the extra coins are also acquired and placed on sale at the museum or at one of the mints in India. Such coins are advertised, and collectors may register their names to receive lists of them. After five years those remaining unsold are melted down.

One difficulty in distribution arose from the absence of catalogues, as it is unnecessary in many cases to send duplicates to a museum. That has been remedied by the publications of Dr V. A. Smith, Mr Nelson Wright, and Mr Allan for the Indian Museum, of Mr Whitehead for Lahore, of Mr C. J. Brown and Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal for Lucknow, of Drs Thurston and Henderson for Madras, Mr C. S. Botham for Assam, and of Messrs Singhal and Acharya for the Gujarāt coins in the Prince of Wales Museum at Bombay. It is to be hoped that other museums will follow suit.

In this connection it is fitting to refer to the stimulus to numismatic studies in India caused by the foundation of the Numismatic Society of India in 1910 through the energy of Mr Nelson Wright. Its publication, the Numismatic Supplement to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (now the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India), has spread an interest throughout the country which has shown itself in advancing knowledge and in the enrichment of public and private collections. We have seen and heard much lately about Federation in India, and are waiting to see what is going to happen in the matter of administrative relations. The latest report I have received from Lucknow shows that in numismatics federal relations have already come into existence. As many as thirty-four Durbars of Indian States have entered into exchange relations with the United Provinces and several more desire to obtain by exchange certain classes of coins. The omen seems favourable.

R. BURN

REVIEWS

TWO CATALOGUES OF COINS, CHIEFLY OF THE BENGAL SULTĀNS

Catalogue of Coins presented to the Dacca Museum by Sayyid A S M Taifoor, by N K Bhattachali, M A, Ph D With 6 Plates
Pp xx+40 Rs 2

Catalogue of Coins presented to the Dacca Museum by Hakim Habibar Rahman Khan, by N K Bhattachali, M A, Ph D With 3 Plates Pp 12+45 Rs 2

Both these collections were the outcome of many years' accumulation, handed down as heirlooms in their families by the ancestors of the two donors and added to by their own respective acquisitions. The two collections have greatly enriched the coin cabinet of the Dacca Museum and will help research in Muhammadan numismatics, especially of the Bengal period. The Taifoor collection, besides a few punch-marked coins, comprises the coins of five dynasties, of which the Sultāns of Bengal and Dehlī form the major portion. Hakim Habibar Rahman's collection, on the other hand, represents eleven ruling houses and here, too, the Bengal and Dehlī Sultāns predominate. Three coins of outstanding interest from the historical point of view merit mention here. Two are silver issues of Sher Shāh, one in each of the above-named collections, dated in 945 A H. Another coin of Sher Shāh's bearing this date has been described and illustrated by H Nelson Wright (*vide* The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultāns of Dehlī, p 270, coin 1040 B, Pl 21), who also mentions a duplicate. This date puts back the coronation of Sher Shāh by a year. The third notable coin is in the Hakim Sahib's collection and is a silver piece of Humayun minted at Tānda, once the capital of Bengal during its later rulers. The mint name cannot unfortunately be read from the photograph of the coin.

Mention must be made of the author's discovery of some new mint names on some coins of these two collections. He has found, for instance, the mint name Chandrābād in coin No 149 of Husain Shāh, Bārbakābād in No 119 of Bārbak Shāh and Muzaffarābād in No 132 of the same king in the Taifoor collection, and of his attempts at finding a satisfactory solution of the date 899 A H, which appears on coins of Husain Shāh of Bengal as well as on rupees of some of his successors. We regret

that the symbols impressed on the nine punch-marked coins have not been described

Dr Bhattasali's method of describing the coins is interesting and peculiarly his own. Scholars will find a ready reference to important and exceptionally interesting specimens. The plates illustrating typical specimens seem to have been prepared with care and attention.

SHAMSUDDIN AHMED

NEW VIEWS IN INDO-GREEK NUMISMATICS

In trying to recover "a lost chapter in Hellenistic history", Dr W. W. Tarn, in his work entitled 'The Greeks in Bactria and India', has brought together a mass of important materials which, with the strikingly original contribution made by him to his subject, will stimulate further research. I propose to discuss a few points which may be of immediate interest to investigators in the field of Indo-Greek numismatics. Dr Tarn makes out a strong case for interpreting the monograms on Indo-Greek coins as denoting not mint-cities (as originally suggested by Cunningham) but names of moneyers. The recurrence of the same monogram in the coinage of several generations can be explained on the supposition that the moneyer's office was hereditary, so that the same name but not necessarily the same personality may lie hidden behind one and the same monogram. The theory must, however, labour under one difficulty. When a particular monogram is found on coins of king X as well as on coins of king Y, we cannot at once infer that X and Y reigned in succession, in the absence of corroborative evidence.

Perhaps the most startling suggestion is made in respect of the commemorative medallions associated prominently with the name of Agathocles. Dr Tarn regards these issues as "Agathocles' pedigree coins", which is the caption of one of a number of important Appendices. To reach this far-reaching conclusion he draws upon the analogy of a fictitious pedigree set out in a series of inscriptions for which Antiochus I of Commagene was responsible. The inscriptions are stated to occur below representations of his ancestors "each inscription giving the name and patronymic of the corresponding figure, these inscriptions professedly give the respective pedigrees of his father, going back to Darius, and of his mother Laodice Thea Philadelphos, who was a Seleucid princess, a daughter of Antiochus VIII Grypus, and his mother's pedigree is the ordinary Seleucid pedigree but begins with Alexander." Dr Tarn offers his own explanation of how the descent from Alexander may have been derived fictitiously by making Seleucus Nicator's wife, Απαμία,—in reality the daughter of the Sogdian baron Spitamenes—a daughter of Alexander. He then proceeds to argue that a similar pedigree is intended to be proclaimed on behalf of Agathocles by his medallion series, admittedly struck in his reign but bearing on the obverse representations of Alexander, Antiochus Nicator,

Diodotus Soter, Euthydemus Theos and Demetrios Aniketos. By affiliating the two series he draws up the "fictitious" genealogy Alexander—Apama (*m* Seleucus I)—Antiochus I—Antiochus II (= Antiochus Nikator)—daughter (*m* Diodotus)—daughter (*m* Euthydemus of Magnesia)—Demetrius—Agathocles. Critics will probably be slow to accept the complete parallelism between the inscriptions series and the coin series, and the presence of a "fictitious" element will no doubt stand in the way of their utilisation as documents of genuine history. But there can be no doubt that Agathocles was, if not a son, at any rate a close relative—say a younger brother—of Demetrius, this is shown by the resemblance in features between Euthydemus and Agathocles. A similar resemblance may be detected between Demetrius and Pantaleon. And numismatists have long regarded Agathocles and Pantaleon as closely related by their coin-types and by their common employment of nickel for the type 'Bust of king as Dionysus. Maneless lion touching vine,' which I have connected with the locality called Nysa, whose people convinced Alexander of their special association with Dionysus and the vine-cult (IHQ, 1934, p. 511). Another link between Pantaleon and Agathocles is provided by their common coin-type bearing on one side a 'maneless lion' and on the other a female figure holding a lotus, usually described as a 'dancing girl'. Dr. Tarn has rejected my suggestion that she is the goddess of Pushkalāvati on the ground that "one cannot imagine the Fortune of a city without her mural crown and dancing, and on the solitary autonomous coin of Pushkalāvati she wears her mural crown". If, however, reference be made to the Indian Museum specimen figured by Smith (I M C, Pl. II, 2) the mural crown will be distinctly seen. On that specimen as well as on the specimens figured by Gardner (B M C, Pl. IV, 9) and by Whitehead (P M C Pl. II, 35) we find below the lotus-bearing civic divinity the Indian crane, for which the Sanskrit name is 'sārasa', and 'Pushkara' can in Sanskrit signify both the 'lotus' and the 'sārasa'. Eliminating the crane, the lotus-bearing divinity ceases to look like a dancing girl, although curiously enough the dancing pose might be justified by the fact that 'Pushkara' also means the art of dancing, and, apart from the circumstance that Indian deities are not always averse to poses usually associated with dancing, the instability of Fortune was proverbial and may possibly be represented by a dynamic pose.

A brilliant interpretation is offered by Dr. Tarn (p. 158) of the three-headed Hecate in the hand of Zeus on a silver type of

Agathocles She is Hecate of the three ways, who was worshipped where three roads met and only one such meeting place of three ways can be meant, namely the meeting place of the three routes across the Hindu Kush from Bactria Alexandria-Kapisa, that "gateway of the trade between India and the West" stood at the point of junction and Hecate of the three ways was doubtless worshipped there Equally acute is the suggestion that Demetrius modelled much of his activity on Alexander's example His title "Aniketos", 'the Invincible', is aptly connected with the story in Plutarch that, when Alexander visited the oracle of Delphi, the Pythea hailed him by that title

The Graeco-Bactrian invasion of India is reconstructed on the basis that it was carried out by the joint efforts of Demetrius, Apollodotus and Menander Dr Tarn accepts Rapson's theory of the contemporaneity of Demetrius, Apollodotus and Menander but contests the conclusion, and (I believe) rightly, that Menander belonged to the house of Euthydemus It is, however, difficult to agree with him in his view that Apollodotus may have been a younger brother of Demetrius rather than a mere general or 'chief' Demetrius' confidence in him cannot be made a measure of originally near relationship the same confidence in Menander may be presumed on Dr Tarn's own data Dr Tarn says that Apollodotus' regular coin-type for bronze is Seleucidan, but while the Seleucid type as noted by him has the 'Head of Apollo with Tripod lebes', the type employed by Apollodotus 'Standing Apollo Tripod lebes', as Rapson observes, bears "evident allusion to the king's name" Not recognising such "evident allusion", Dr Tarn is led to express surprise at the circumstance that the royal portrait is absent from the coins of two other Indo-Greek princes I suggest that the absence of royal portraits in these three cases—(quite exceptional in view of the general rule among the Indo-Greeks) can be best explained by their employment of types bearing allusion to their names or distinctive epithets As Apollodotus' coins represent Apollo on the obverse in lieu of his own portrait, so the issues of Antimachus II, who takes the epithet 'Nikephoros', figure Nike on the obverse The case of Telephus is more interesting Dr Tarn goes very near what appears to be the true solution when he observes that the silver issue of Telephus "shows on the obverse a serpent-footed giant and on the reverse a radiate king or god facing a male figure with horns, a group which might belong to Ianian mythology The giant suggests that the artist of the coin had seen the Pergamene frieze,

another sign that intercourse with the west was maintained till the end, if we knew why the giant occupies the place on the coin normally filled by the king's head we might know who and what Telephus was." The allusion, I think, is to the mythical Telephus, son of Herakles, whose legend pervades the Peigamene scheme what Apollo was to King Apollodotus, Telephus was to King Telephus. One other point of numismatic interest relates to Dr Tarn's interpretation of the 'Wheel'—symbol along with the 'Palm' on a rare type struck by Menander. The Wheel has hitherto been considered to represent *dharmachakra*, symbolising Buddhism, but Dr Tarn suggests that it signifies Menander's claim to political overlordship—to the status of a *chakravartin* in the political sense. I do not propose to argue at length here the question whether Menander became a Buddhist. But I may point out that, if the 'Wheel' of Menander had been intended to denote the status of political overlordship, we would hardly have found the same symbol on copper coins of Bhumaka, a mere satrap. Bhumaka probably ruled shortly after Menander, since he preceded Nahapana whose successor was Gautamiputra Sātikarnī, founder of the Vikrama era of 58 B C, as I hope to have shown in *Zeits f Ind u Iran*, 1922, pp 255 ff, and the coins of Bhumaka are found 'in the coasting regions of Gujarat and Kathiawad, and also some times in Malwa' (Rapson, *Andhra coins &c*, p cvii, citing Bhagvanlal) that is to say, in an area once subject to Indo-Greek sway. It seems more reasonable to hold that Menander's 'Wheel' and 'Palm' represent, in their combination, the Asokan concept of *dharmavijaya*—the 'Wheel' representing *dharma*, the 'Palm' representing *vijaya*. We find the concept specially emphasised by Asoka (in his Rock Edict XIII) in connection with his contemporary Hellenistic monarchs as also the Greek settlers (Yonai) in India, and Asoka exhorts his successors to pursue his ideal of *dharmavijaya*. It would be natural for the Indo-Greek Menander to proclaim his loyalty to the ideal, and grateful recollection of such loyalty would admirably account for the existence of the *Mulinda-pañha*.

NOTES AND NEWS

OURSELVES

At the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India, held in Calcutta on 26th December, 1938, the following Resolution was moved from the Chair and passed unanimously

"Resolved that henceforth the journal of the Numismatic Society of India be published independently as the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India"

The Resolution gave expression to a long-felt desire of the members of the Society to have their own journal and marked the termination of the arrangement under which papers contributed to the Numismatic Society of India had been published in the "Numismatic Supplement" to the Journal of the Asiatic (now Royal Asiatic) Society of Bengal. We now present our readers with the first issue of our Journal published in accordance with the above Resolution. We are in complete accord with the remark made by Col H R Neville, C I E, I C S (ret'd), the then President, eleven years ago, when a journal which the Society could call its own was only a vision of the future, that such a journal should have but one standard, namely the highest. We have, therefore, endeavoured to maintain the high standard of excellence set by the first editors of the Numismatic Supplement, the predecessor of our Journal, and have attempted to improve upon it wherever possible. The present issue comprises fully a hundred pages, containing papers in almost every field of Indian numismatics and allied spheres, and nearly a dozen carefully prepared plates. The 'Notes and News' is a new feature and in this section we aim to give the latest available information regarding finds and acquisitions made by museums, both in India and abroad. News regarding treasure trove coins for sale will be included, whenever thought desirable. In this first issue we have even succeeded, through the ready collaboration of our contributors, in including exhaustive papers on some of the latest finds, e.g., the important find in Bastar State, C P, made only a few months ago, and on some of the latest acquisitions made by museums, e.g., Mr Nelson Wright, I C S (ret'd)'s paper on the recent additions to the collection of Mughal coins in the British Museum. We shall also keep our

ders informed about the publication of articles of interest in the field in other journals wherever the importance of an article demands it we shall publish a comprehensive summary and, if considered desirable, the paper itself will, if possible, be reprinted with additions and alterations, if necessary, and in this connection we would refer to two valuable papers in this issue, one on Sāsānian coins and the other on the law and practice of treasure trove in India. To successfully accomplish these objects we look for co-operation to the Archaeological Survey of India, to various museums, treasure trove authorities, journals devoted to the study of Indology and to all who are interested in Indian numismatics.

MUSEUM REPORTS

The Director General of Archaeology in India, who is at present also the President of the Numismatic Society of India, requested a number of the principal museums to forward copies of their annual reports to the Editor so that information of interest to numismatists could be included in the Journal. The following reports have been received:

Annual Report of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, for the year 1937-38

Annual Report of the Managing Committee of the Patna Museum for the year ending 31st March, 1938

Annual Report of the Dacca Museum for 1937-38, as well as

Annual Report of the Dacca Museum for 1936-37, and
A Resume of the Activities of the Dacca Museum from 1926-27 to 1934-35 and Annual Report of the Dacca Museum for 1935-36

Annual Report of the working of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmere, for the year ending 31st March, 1938

No reports have been received from the Central Museum, Madras, the Provincial Museum, Lucknow (except a detailed statement regarding acquisitions to the Coin Cabinet), the Central Museum, Lahore, Nagpur Museum, Peshawar Museum, Rangoon Museum, Victoria Museum, Karachi, and the Central Museum, Satara.

MUSEUM ACQUISITIONS

British Museum. The British Museum Quarterly, Vol. I, No. 4, 1938, mentions the acquisition of important gold

coins of Akbar and Jahāngīr from the collection of Mr H Nelson Wright, ICS (ret'd) Mr Nelson Wright has described the coins in this Journal (*vide* pp 43-49)

The Indian Museum acquired during the current year the twenty silver coins described in "A Treasure Trove Find of Silver Coins of Bengal Sultāns" by Maulavi Shamsu-d-din Ahmed in this issue (*vide* pp 36-37)

The Curator of the *Provincial Museum, Lucknow*, reports that 91 coins, of which 2 were gold, 40 silver and 49 copper, were acquired during the year 1938 Of the two gold coins purchased, one is a fine *muhr* of Jahāngīr, minted at Ahmadābād in the fifteenth year of his reign, corresponding to A H 1029, it was formerly in the Gotha Museum The other gold coin is a half *muhr* of Amjād 'Alī Shāh of Oudh and was struck at Lucknow in A H 1258 The silver coins represent issues of the kings of Oudh required to fill gaps in the collection of Oudh coins, for which the claim is made that it is the most representative

The Prince of Wales Museum acquired during 1937-38, 28 silver and 56 copper coins by presentation, and 23 gold, 89 silver and 53 copper coins by purchase Beyond a brief statement as to the number of coins added to the cabinet and a classified list of the coins, no information is given as to whether any coins are of outstanding interest to numismatists The list, however, shows that 9 silver and 3 copper punch-marked coins were purchased along with two copper Indo-Greek, 3 Indo-Parthian and 12 tribal coins of copper and 63 silver Sāsānian coins, the remaining coins being coins of the Sultāns of Dehli, the Mughal Emperors and the Indian States and one Indo-Portugese coin

Patna Museum The Machuatoli (Patna) hoard of punch-marked coins, consisting of 2,232 coins, was the most important acquisition to the coin cabinet of the Patna Museum during the period, according to the consolidated report for the years 1935-36, 36-37 and 37-38 of the Coin Committees, published in the Annual Report of the Managing Committee of the Patna Museum for the year ending 31st March, 1938 A very large number of Muhammadan and non-muhammadan coins were added to the Bihar Coin Cabinet, Patna Museum, by presentation or purchase and a list is given in an appendix to the Annual Report, mentioned above It is stated that a separate descriptive list of the Machuatoli hoard would be published later as a supplement to the Annual Report A paper on this hoard as well

as on the Ramna (Patna) find has since been published by E H C Walsh, C S I, I C S (retd) in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

Dacca Museum Besides 6 silver coins of Yasomānikya-deva of Tippera and the Queens Laksmīgaurī and Jayā, dated 1522 Śaka, and 1 silver coin of Rājādharmaṇikya of Tippera and Queen Satyavatī, dated 1508 Śaka, presented to it, the Dacca Museum did not acquire any other important coins during the year 1937-38

The Rajputana Museum, Ajmere, acquired, during 1937-38, 51 silver and 16 copper coins, being coins of the Sultāns of Dehli and of the Mughal Emperors, with the exception of one coin each of Śivajī, of a Bahmanī king and of a Peshwa (name not given) who struck a coin in the name of Shāh 'Ālam II

It is to be regretted that museum reports generally furnish only statistics of coins acquired and very rarely information regarding any coins of special numismatic interest

TREASURE TROVE REPORTS

The following report has been received

Triennial Report on Coins dealt with under the Treasure Trove Act for the years 1934-35, 1935-36 and 1936-37, published by the Central Provinces and Berar Government

As many as forty six treasure trove finds are recorded in the report, comprising 78 gold, 826 silver and 177 copper coins, in all 1,081 coins, which were acquired by government under the Act. The coins included coins of Sultāns of Gujarāt, the Bahmanī kings, Imadshāhī dynasty of Berar, kings of Vijayanagar, Emperors of Dehli and coins of William IV, Queen Victoria and even of King Edward VII. Barring 20 silver and 16 copper coins which were kept for sale at the Nagpur Museum, the remaining coins were distributed among various museums and Durbars. The latest find, that made in Bastar State, C P, is later than the above Report and has been described in this Journal by Prof V V Mirashi (*vide* Gold coins of three kings of the Nala dynasty, pp 29-35)

The Superintendent, Archæological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, reports that 20 silver coins of the Sultāns of Bengal were found at Hanspukur, in the Kalna Sub-division of the Burdwan district, Bengal, and were acquired for the Indian Museum. The coins have been described by Maulavi Shamsuddin Ahmed

in this issue (*vide* A Treasure-Trove Find of Silver Coins of the Bengal Sultāns, pp 36-37)

The Curator of the Patna Museum refers to the find of antiquities in the course of building operations in the compound of the Imperial Bank, Patna Branch, the most remarkable being a copper band, 11" long, 1" wide and $1/10$ " thick with punch marks found on punch-marked coins. The band has been discussed in two articles contributed to the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society (*vide infra*)

TREASURE TROVE COINS FOR SALE

The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society forwards several lists of treasure trove coins available for sale at the Mint, Bombay. Besides 332 gold Fanams of Travancore of the 18th and 19th centuries, there are a number of silver and copper Mughal coins for sale as well as a gold coin of Sadāśivarāya of Vijayanagar and a silver coin of Bajirao II.

The Central Museum, Lahore, has for sale a number of gold *mubās* of Shāh Jahān of Akbarābād mint besides a number of silver coins of Muhammad Shāh and 'Ālamgīr II.

The Central Museum, Nagpur, has a number of silver punch-marked coins, coins of the Western Kshatras and of Kāśhā Rājā as well as a few Gadhīya coins for sale.

PATNA MUSEUM'S LOSS

The Coin Room of the Patna Museum was burgled either on the night of the 27th April or in the early hours of the 28th April, 1939. As many as 502 gold coins and about 19 gold articles were found missing on the morning of the 28th April. The Gupta gold coins included the valuable collection of W. E. M. Campbell, in which the most important coin was the second known specimen of the Asvamedha coin of Kumāragupta I. The collection of the coins of the Sultāns of Dehli and of the Mughal Emperors was also large and important. Before this, gold coins had been stolen from other museums in India but a burglary on such a large scale had never been attempted. The coins have not been recovered so far. All museums in this country should take immediate steps to properly protect their coin collections. As surmised by the Bihar Government it is not unlikely that a gang with ramifications in several provinces is at work.

EXCAVATION OF RAMNAGAR

After examining the merits of various well-known sites in North India, Sir Leonard Woolley, who was brought out by the Government of India to advise on Archæological work in India, has come to the conclusion that Rāmnagar, in the Bareilly district of the United Provinces, is the most likely to reward systematic and scientific excavation. It is understood that the excavation will be undertaken by the Archæological Department shortly. The choice of Rāmnagar is of considerable interest to numismatists as the site has for a very long time yielded ancient Indian coins as well as Kushan and Gupta coins and further rich finds likely to add to our knowledge of Indian numismatics may be expected.

ITEMS OF INTEREST FROM THE PERIODICALS

British Museum Quarterly, Vol XII, 1938, No 4, mentions among recent acquisitions the gold coins acquired from Mr H Nelson Wright's collection (described by him in this Journal, *vide* pp 43-49)

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol XXIV, 1938, Pts I & II)

"Note on the Kosam coin of Bhavanāga" By E H C Walsh

Ibid, Vol XXIV, 1938, Pt III

"Punch-marked copper band from Patna" By A Banerji Sastri

Ibid, Vol XXV, 1939, Pt I

"Some notes on the punch-marked copper band found at Patna" By E H C Walsh

Ibid, Vol XXV, 1939, Pt II

"Notes on two hoards of silver punch-marked coins, one found at Ramna and one at Machuatoli" By E H C Walsh

Indian Culture, Vol V 1938, No 1

"A new type of Andhra coin" By Sushil K Bose

Ibid, No 2, 1938

"Some Sunga coins—hitherto misread" By Miss Bhramar Ghosh

Ibid, 1939, No 4

"Note on some punch-marked coins of Mysore Museum" By Adris Banerji

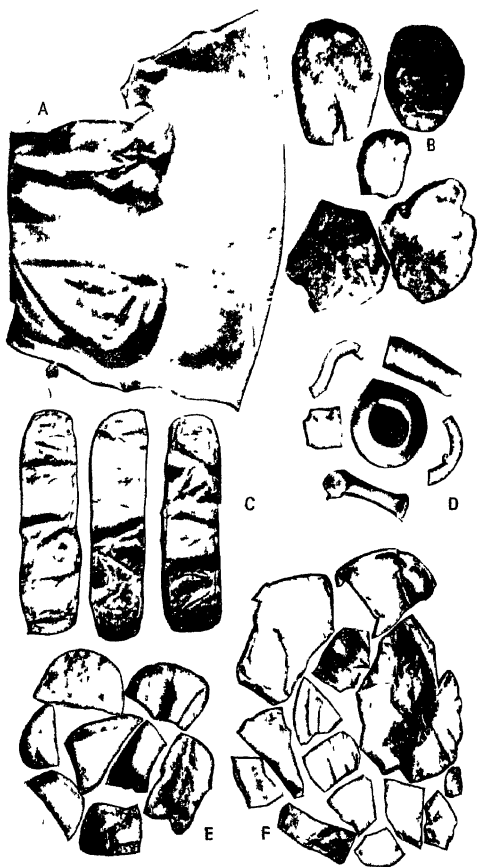
Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society, Vol XI,
1938, Pt I

Ancient Indian coins as known to Pāṇini By V S
Agrawala

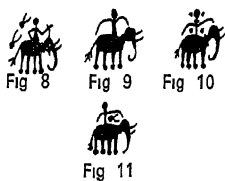
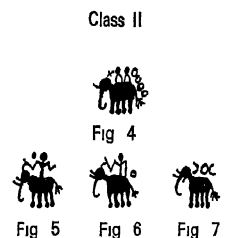
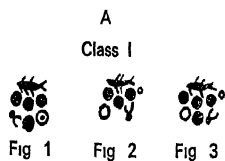
Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol XV, No I

"Foreign denominations of ancient Indian coins" By S K
Chakraborty

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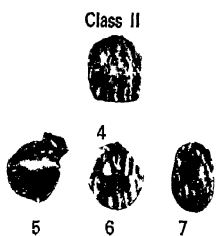
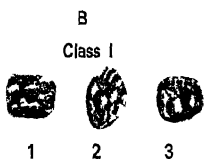
BIJNOR HOARD



Class III



Symbols on one side
of the Punch-Marked Coins



Class III



Punch-marked Coins



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9

A

Oblong Coins from Rajgir



B



HUVISHKA



1



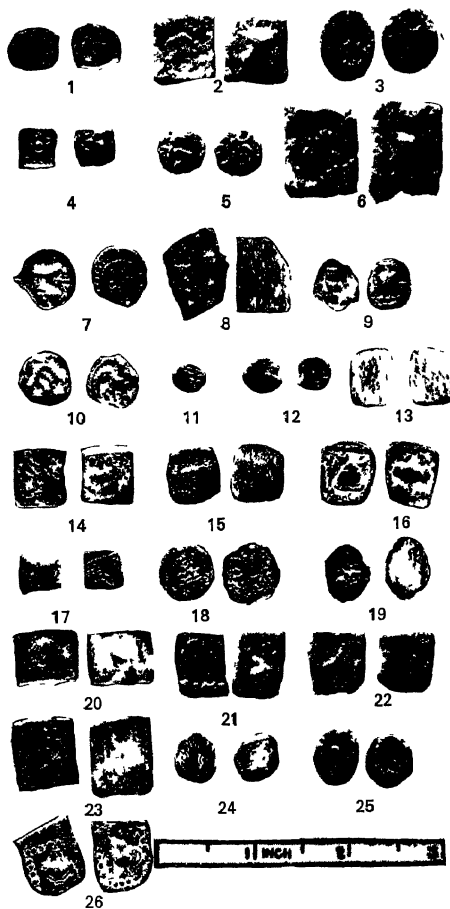
2



3



Coins of Jivadaman as Mahakshatrapa





A



B



CHANDRA GUPTA II



1



2



3



4



5



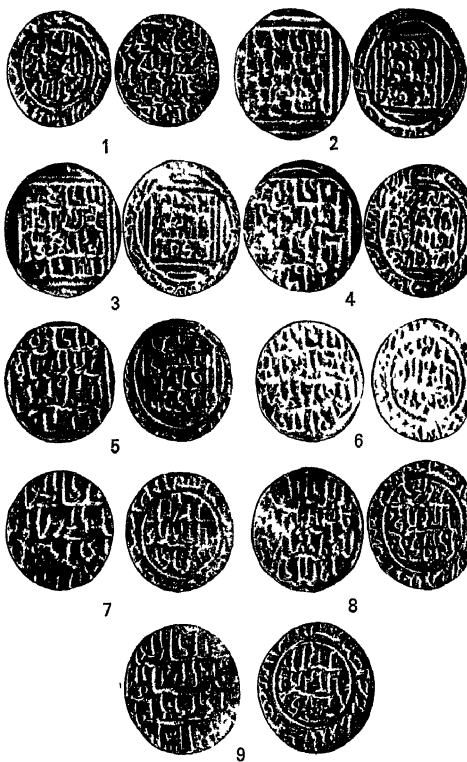
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7

C

COINS OF NALA DYNASTY.



COINS OF BENGAL SULTANS.



A

B



C



D

- A MAHMUD SHAH KHILJI
 B NIZAM SHAH BAHMANI
 C MAHMUD SHAH BEGDA
 D SHER SHAH SURI



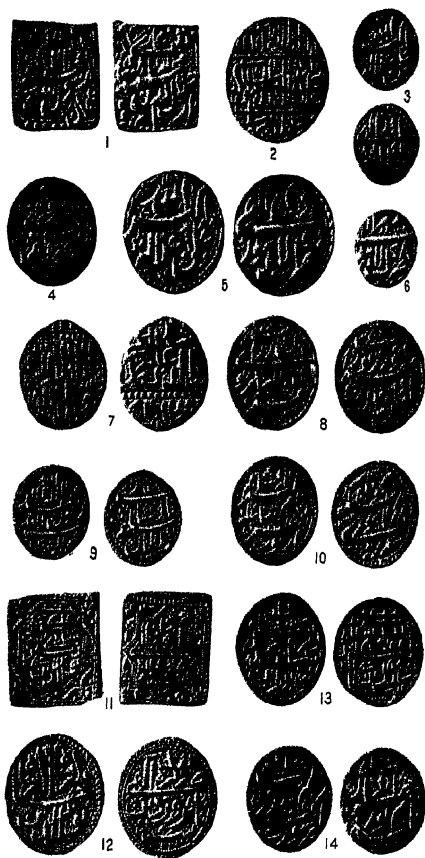
E

SHAH JAHAN



3

F COINS OF PERSIS



RARE GOLD COINS OF AKBAR AND JAHANGIR



1



2



3



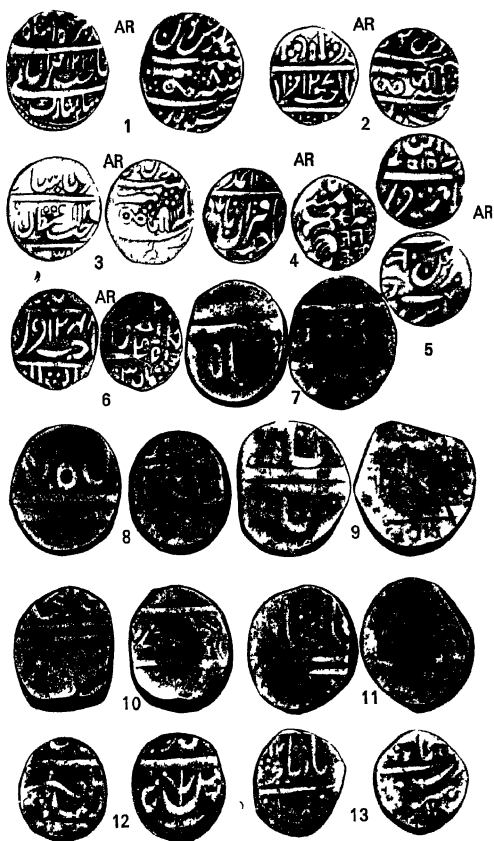
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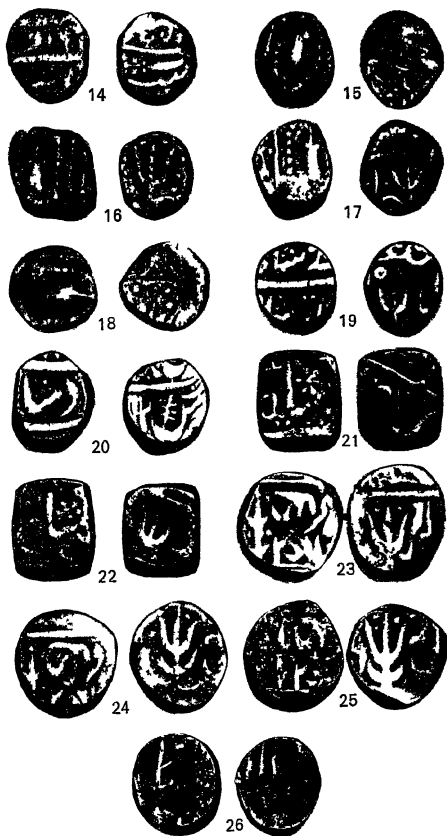
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SASANIAN COINS



COINS OF THE SINDHIAS I



COINS OF THE SINDHIAS II

THE
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Vol. II]

[1940



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THE RELATIVE PRICES OF METALS AND COINS IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY DR A S ALTEKAR, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY

Thanks to the efforts of the last two generations of numismatists, we now possess a fairly good knowledge of the coins of ancient and medieval India, in gold, silver and copper. The question of the relative value of these metals and their coins is however still shrouded in considerable obscurity. Some occasional observations have been made on the subject, but it still remains to be treated in a comprehensive way. The material available is however scanty, still it is desirable to discuss it and draw such conclusions as may be warrantable.

Extensive mines of neither gold, nor silver nor copper existed in ancient India, and the country had to import considerable quantities of these metals to meet her numismatic and household needs. Some copper mines existed and were worked in Rajputana and Madras Presidency, but they did not supply all the quantity of the metal required by the country. We learn from the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* that the western ports imported considerable quantities of this metal in the first century A D¹. Probably the case was the same both before and after that time.

India proper contained no mines of silver. Some of them existed in Burma and Afghanistan, but the country had to rely mainly upon the imports from Western Asia for her usual requirements.

The indigenous supply of gold was from the mines in Assam, Hyderabad, Mysore and Malabar and from the river washings in the beds of the Indus, the Ganges and the Brahmaputra². What was the exact quantity of this metal supplied by these sources is not known, but it appears to have been not inconsiderable. The country however had to rely to a great extent on foreign imports for its everyday needs with respect to this metal also. Tibet was one source of supply, the 'ant-gold' referred to by the Greek writers was obtained from that country. Some gold appears to have been imported from the mines in Eastern Siberia, when the roads were sufficiently safe³. But Western Asia was undoubtedly the most important source of supply. The *Periplus* mentions gold and silver bullion as articles of import in most of the ports of Western India,

¹ Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, p. 42

² Bahl, *Economic Geology*, Part III, chap. 4

³ Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 107

and Pliny moans over the heavy drain of the yellow metal, which was steadily flowing into India to the detriment of the Roman Empire

It will be quite clear from the above observations that the prices of gold, silver and copper must have to some extent fluctuated with the exigencies of the foreign trade

A few observations have to be made in the beginning on the metrology of the coins in gold, silver and copper in order that the subsequent discussion should become clear. The unit of the gold coinage was called *suvarna*, it weighed 16 *māshas* or 80 *rattis*, i e., about 144 grains. We have however so far discovered no ancient gold coins of this standard. The gold coins of the Kushānas and the early imperial Guptas conform to the Roman standard of the *aureus* and weigh about 120 grains. Early Gupta inscriptions further show that these gold coins were known, not by the indigenous name of *suvarna*, but by the Roman-derived name *dīnāra*. Later Gupta emperors tried to raise the weight of their gold issues gradually to that of the *suvarna*, in the reign of Skandagupta we find some Gupta coins actually conforming to the standard of *suvarna*, i e., 144 grains. It must however be observed that the increase in the weight of these gold coins is counterbalanced by the heavy alloy they contained, which is in some cases as high as 50%.

With the disappearance of the Gupta power, gold coinage also disappeared from northern India. In the 11th century it was restarted by the Chedi ruler *Gāṅgeyadeva* and was subsequently continued by the Chandellas, the Gahaḍwālas and some other dynasties. The gold coins that were issued in northern India during the 11th and 12th centuries are however seen to be conforming to quite a new metrology. They are usually about 60 grains in weight and were known as *suvarna-drammas*. Half and quarter *drammas* were also issued and have been found in good quantities.

The silver unit of coinage was variously termed as *purāṇa*, *dharana* or *kārshāpana*. Like the gold unit, technically it was also regarded as weighing 16 *māshas*. But the *māsha* here was a unit of two and not five *rattis*, and so the silver unit weighed 32 *rattis* or about 57 grains only. Its weight was thus two-fifths the weight of the *suvarna*. The vast majority of the silver punch-marked coins are seen to be conforming to this standard. The silver coins issued by the Indo-Baktrians first conformed to the Attic and then to the Persian standard. The silver unit, drachm, which was destined to have a very long life in Indian languages in the forms of *dramma* and *dam*, weighed about 67 grains according to the Attic and 86 grains according to the Persian standard. The hemi-drachms issued later by the Indo-Baktrians, the Parthians and the Scythians

seems to have been adjusted to the prevailing prices of the metal. The extensive medieval silver coinage of Rajputana, popularly known as *gadaras*, conform to the standard of 60 grains. The Hindu silver coinage of the 11th and 12th centuries A D, is seen to be about 10 grains lighter

The unit of the copper coinage was called *pana*, and according to Manu its weight also was 144 grains, or 16 *māshas* of 5 *rattis*. It is usually assumed in works on ancient Indian numismatics that this was the normal weight of the *pana*, but such does not seem to have been the case. The commentary on the *Vinayapitaka*⁴ as well as *Gangamārajātaka*⁵ refer to a bigger *pana*, weighing not 16 but 20 *māshas* of five *rattis*. Early Dharmaśāstra writers like Vasishtha,⁶ Gautama⁷ and Uśanas⁸ are aware of a *pana* of 20 *māshas* or 100 *rattis* only. It would therefore appear that the copper *pana* in the period before the Christian era was 25 per cent heavier than the one mentioned by Manu. Nor does the metrology referred to by Manu appear to have supplanted the earlier *pana* of 20 *māshas*, for it is mentioned by Nārada also.⁹ An examination of the copper coins available at present shows that the weight of the *pana* must have been sometimes even heavier, we have discovered several pieces of Kushāna rulers weighing 240 to 260 grains, i e., about 26 to 28 *māshas*. And the *Agripurāna* actually refers to a *pana* of 24 *māshas*.¹⁰

Having cleared the preliminary ground by determining the weights of the coins, let us proceed to consider the relative values of gold, silver and copper, and the coins issued in these metals. We shall first take up the question of the relative prices of gold and silver.

From the testimony of Xenophon, we learn that in the ancient Achemenian empire of Persia, 20 silver coins (called siglos), each weighing about 85 grains, were equal in value to one golden coin.

⁴ तेन खो पन समयेन राजगहे पचमासको पादो होति । Vol III, p 45.

⁵ कहापणो अद्धो पादो चत्तारो मासका तयो द्वे एको मासकोति पुच्छि । No 421 (Vol III, p 448). It may be noted here that a quarter *lārekhāpana* is stated to be bigger than 4 *māshas* in weight. A full *lārekhāpana* must therefore be bigger than 16 *māshas*.

⁶ Vasishtha allows a normal interest rate of $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent per mensem. Cf. वशिष्ठविहितां वृद्धिं सृजद्विजविधिनीम् । अशीतिभागं गृह्णीयात्मासाद्वावृषिकं शते । Manu, VIII, 140. He further says that the interest on 20 *panas* would be 5 *māshas*, 20 *panas* thus become equal to 400 *māshas*, i e., one *pana* equal to 20 and not 16 *māshas*. Cf. पच माषा तु विशत्या एव धर्मो न हीयते । II, 55.

⁷ Cf. — कुसीद्वृद्धिर्धर्म्यां विशति पचमाषिकी मासम् । I, 2, 26.

⁸ माषो विशतिमो भागो ज्ञेयः कार्षापणस्य तु । Occurring in the *Mahābhārata* and quoted in the *Dharmakośha*, I, p 533.

⁹ माषो विशतिभागस्तु पणस्य परिकीर्तितः । Appendix, p. 58.

¹⁰ कृष्णलानां तथा षट्चत्वारिंशं कर्षार्धं राम कीर्तितम् । 227, 1.

(called Daric), weighing about 130 grains. If we ignore the alloy, this would give the ratio between the prices of gold and silver as 1700 : 130 or about 13 : 1. In contemporary Greece the ratio was about 14 : 1, but later on it became 12 : 1. In 306 B.C. it was 10 : 1. This was also the ratio in the time of Augustus, for one aureus of gold, weighing $\frac{1}{42}$ of a lb., was equal in value to 20 denarii, each weighing $\frac{1}{84}$ of a lb.¹¹

It is natural to assume that the Indo-Baktrians continued the old Greek and Persian ratio of one gold coin being the equivalent of 20 silver ones. Their stater weighed 12 oboli or about 130 grains, and drachm 6 oboli or about 65 grains. If the alloy is ignored and 20 drachms are assumed to be equal to one stater, the ratio between the price of gold and silver works out to be 10 : 1. This was true of the early Indo-Baktrian period.

It would thus be seen that silver was relatively dearer in India in terms of gold. That was but natural for India had some indigenous supply of gold, but practically none whatever of silver. This relative dearth of the white metal continued down to the 1st century A.D. For the author of the *Periplus* informs us that silver could be profitably exchanged for gold in India.¹²

Luckily we have some epigraphical evidence to enlighten us about the relative prices of the two metals, which is almost contemporaneous with that of the *Periplus*. Nasik inscription No. 10 tells us that 70,000 *kārshāpanas* were equal in value to 2,000 *suvarnas*, 35 *kārshāpanas* were thus equal to one *suvarna*.¹³ If we assume with Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar that the silver *kārshāpanas* and the gold *suvarnas* were the traditional indigenous coins of the weight of 32 and 80 *rattis* respectively, then the ratio between the prices of gold and silver would be $35 \times 32 : 80$, i.e., 14 : 1.

This conclusion would however go against the express contemporary statement of the author of the *Periplus* that silver was dearer in India than in the West. I think that we must take the *kārshāpanas* and *suvarnas*, referred to in the Nasik inscription, as denoting not the coins mentioned in Smritis, but the currency actually current in contemporary times. At that time the silver currency in vogue in Mahārāshtra was that of the silver coins, issued by Nahapāna. No indigenous *suvarnas* of contemporary times are known, very

¹¹ Gardner, *History of Ancient Coinage*, pp. 32-36.

¹² Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, p. 42.

¹³ Cf. निवृत्त च कर्षापणसहस्राणि सतरि, ७०,०००, पचत्रिंशत्सुवर्ण कृता दिन सुवर्णसहस्रम् । E I, Vol. VIII, p. 82. The *Kārshāpana* referred to in this inscription is really the hemidrachm, the ratio of exchange between *suvarna* and drachm would then be 17½ : 1. According to the old Greek and Persian tradition, the gold coin was equal to 20 silver pieces. In India this ratio had now changed to 17½ : 1. It was soon to be 16 : 1, as will be presently shown.

probably the term denotes the golden issues of the Kushānas, who were most probably the overlords of the western Kshatrapas. The silver coins of Nahapāna weighed not 32 *rattis* or 57 grains but about 35 grains, and the gold coins of the Kushānas weighed not 80 *rattis* or 144 grains but about 120 grains. If we accept this metrology,—and it is but natural to do so—the relative ratio between the prices of gold and silver would be $35 \times 35 = 1225$, i.e., 245 : 24 or about 10 : 1. But we have to make a further allowance for the alloys. The alloy in the silver punch-marked coins was about 20 per cent, and the same was probably the case with the coins of the Kshatrapas. The alloy in the gold coins of Kanishka was about 9 per cent.¹⁴ If we make an allowance for these alloys, the ratio in the prices of the two metals would be about $28 \times 35 = 980$, i.e., 98 : 1. In Persia the ratio was 13 : 1 as observed above already, it was thus naturally profitable to exchange silver for gold in India, as the author of the *Periplus* has observed.

Cunningham has come to the conclusion¹⁵ that the ratio of the prices of gold and silver was 8 : 1 on the assumption that the *kārshāpanas* contained an alloy of about 20 per cent and that 25 of them, each weighing 32 *rattis*, were equal in value to one *suvarna* weighing 80 *rattis*. He has however given no authority for the latter hypothesis.

In the Gupta empire, from c. 390 A.D., both the silver and gold coins were current, the weight of the gold coins was in the beginning about 120 grains, but was being gradually increased to 144 grains, that of the silver coins was about 35 grains. We however get no clue giving the relative value of these coins.

In the Baigram copper plate grant of the year 447 A.D., issued in the reign of Kumāragupta I, we get some interesting data to determine the relative prices of gold and silver coins. The donor of the grant is seen purchasing three *kulyāvāpas* of fallow land for six *dīnāras* and $\frac{1}{4}$ *kulyāvāpa* of homestead (*sthala*) land for eight *rūpakas*.¹⁶ Unfortunately the inscription does not expressly state the rate of the homestead land. If however we assume that it was the same as that of the fallow land, then the above data would conclusively show that one *dīnāra* was equal to 16 *rūpakas*.

This conclusion is no doubt a very interesting and valuable one, but it does not enable us to arrive at any precise conclusion about the prices of the two metals. The term *rūpaka* was used to denote the coinage not only in silver but also in other metals as well. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya makes this point quite clear.¹⁷ The con-

¹⁴ Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 16.

¹⁵ *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 5, *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. XIV, p. 17.

¹⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 81-2.

¹⁷ See Bk. II, chaps. 23 and 32.

text of the inscription however makes it quite clear that the term *rūpaka*, as used in it, could be indicating only the silver coins. Gold coins have been already referred to by the record as *dināras*, and eight copper coins could not possibly have been the price of $\frac{1}{4}$ *kulyār āpa* of homestead land.

In the Gupta period, 16 silver coins were then equal to one golden one. If we presume that the golden and silver coins referred to were the traditional pieces weighing 80 and 32 *rattis* respectively, then the ratio between the prices of gold and silver would be 16×32 80, i.e., about $6\frac{1}{2}$ 1.

It would however be more reasonable to presume that the Baigram record is referring to the contemporary Gupta gold and silver currency. The average weight of Kumāragupta's silver coins is 35 grains, and that of his gold ones about 125 grains. If these were exchanging at the rate of 16 1, then the ratio of the prices of gold and silver would be 35×16 125, i.e., about $4\frac{1}{2}$ 1.

The above conclusion however appears rather improbable. The Baigram plates were found in the Bogra district of Bengal and most of the Gupta gold coins found in that province are seen to be heavily alloyed. The coins of Kumāragupta I, however, as heavily alloyed as those of Skandagupta or Narasimhagupta, have not yet been discovered. But when we remember how Kaumāragupta I was driven to issue silver-plated coins in the western provinces of his empire, there is nothing improbable in his having issued a heavily alloyed golden currency in the eastern districts of his dominions. Skandagupta and Puragupta may be merely following the example set by Kumāragupta I. Only a few coins of the Kaligat hoard have survived, and it is probable that among the coins that were melted down by the Board of Directors in what Allan has described as a mercenary fit, there may have been some coins of Kumāragupta I as heavily debased as those of Skandagupta or Puragupta.

The alloy in the heavier coins of Skandagupta, Puragupta, Narasimhagupta and Kumāragupta II, weighing about 144 grains, is about 50 per cent.¹⁸ If we assume that the Baigram record refers to such heavily alloyed coins of Kumāragupta I, which have not yet been found, but which very probably circulated at the time of that record, then the ratio between the prices of gold and silver would not be as high as $4\frac{1}{2}$ 1. Skandagupta's heavy coins weighing about 140 grains contain only about 73 grains of gold, and the alloy of silver may be approximately about the value of 7 grains in gold. 80 grains of gold would then be equal in value to 35×16 grains of silver, the ratio of prices would be then 7 1. I do not know the precise alloy in the silver coins of Kumāragupta I, but assuming that

¹⁸ Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 16

it was to the usual extent of about 20 per cent, then the ratio between the prices of the two metals would be $80 : 28 \times 16$, i.e., $5\frac{1}{2} : 1$

The above discussion would show that though we have not yet got data that would enable us to come to absolutely convincing results, it appears fairly certain that the prices of silver were higher in the Gupta period than they were in the Kushāna age. The ratio of the prices of gold and silver seems to have varied between 7 : 1 and 6 : 1.

India imported her silver supplies to a great extent from Central Asia. The disintegration of the Kushāna empire must have interfered with the importation of that metal from Central Asia. This must have resulted in the prices of silver soaring up. There was already a world shortage of silver in the second century A.D., which had compelled the Roman emperors to debase their silver denarius.¹⁹ The confusion caused by the disappearance of the Kushāna supremacy must have made the white metal rarer still, both in India and outside.

Nārada, Brihaspati and Kātyāyana supply some interesting data for determining the relative prices of gold, silver and copper during the period 500-800 A.D., which was the approximate time of the composition of their Smritis. Unfortunately these Smritis have not been preserved in their original form, they have to be reconstructed by putting together quotations from them as given in later digests and commentaries. This circumstance considerably increases the difficulties of the numismatist in interpreting their evidence. The available evidence however seems to show that the silver had become much cheaper in this period.

A verse which occurs in the Smritis of Nārada, Kātyāyana and Brihaspati states that four *kārshāpanas* are equal to one *andikā* or *dhānaka* and that four *dhānakas* are equal to one *suvarna* or *dīnara*.²⁰ Dr D. R. Bhandarkar holds that the *kārshāpana* here referred to is not a silver but a copper coin, the well known *pana* of 80 *rattis*, and therefore concludes that these Smritis show that 48 copper coins were equal to one golden *suvarna*.²¹ As the weight of both the *pana* and the *suvarna* was 80 *rattis*, this would show that the ratio of the price of gold to that of copper was as low as 48 : 1. The *Brihaspati Smṛiti* supports Dr Bhandarkar's contention, for it first states that the *pana* was a copper coin and then adds that it was also known as *andikā*, 48 of which were equal to one *suvarna*.²² This leaves us no

¹⁹ Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 34.

²⁰ कार्षापणोऽदिका ज्ञेयास्ताश्चतस्रस्तु धानका । ते द्वादश सुवर्णस्तु दीनाराख्ये स एव च ॥
Nārada, Appendix, p. 60.

²¹ *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 189.

²² निष्क सुवर्णाश्चत्वार कार्षिकस्ताम्रिक पण । ताम्रकर्षकुना मुद्रा विज्ञेय कार्षिक पण ॥
स एव चतुरिका प्रोक्ता तश्चतस्रस्तु धानका । ता द्वादश सुवर्णस्तु दीनाराख्ये स एव तु ॥

Quoted in *Smṛitichandrika*, Fya p. 99.

alternative but to conclude that the ratio between the prices of gold and copper was as low as 48 1 Was copper really so dear during the 7th and 8th centuries ?

This conclusion however is untenable in the light of other evidence to which reference will be soon made, which makes it abundantly clear that 48 1 or thereabout was the ratio between the prices of silver and copper and not between those of gold and copper As observed already, Brihaspati exists only in quotations, and it would appear that those who have quoted the above passage from his *Smṛiti* have either misquoted him or misplaced the verses Verses occurring in the same context in Nārada and Kātyāyana suggest that the term *kārshāpana* was intended to denote the silver coin, as is also the usual usage If we analyse the passage in *Nārada-smṛiti*, Appendix, as given in the S B E version, we find that the verse 57 expressly states that the *kārshāpana* is a silver coin in the southern country Verse 58 gives the metrology of copper *kārshāpana*, *kāhanī* and *māsha* and then verse 59 refers to certain peculiarities of the Punjab *kārshāpanas* We are then told that four *kārshāpanas* constitute an *andika* or *dhānaka* and 12 *dhānakas*, a *suvarṇa* ²³ I think that the *kārshāpana* referred to in verse 60 is really the silver coin mentioned in verse 57 We must not forget that the verses in Nārada have been arranged not in their original order, but in that order which appeared most probable to Dr Jolly We should therefore presume that verse 60 refers to the silver *kārshāpana* mentioned in verse 57, if we are to avoid the impossible conclusion of gold being only 48 times dearer than copper It will be presently shown how other evidence renders this conclusion altogether untenable

Assuming that the *kārshāpana* referred to by Nārada, Kātyāyana and Brihaspati in the verse under discussion is the silver coin, we come to the conclusion that 48 silver *kārshāpanas* were equal to one gold *suvarṇa* or *dīnāra* As no golden currency existed in the time of these writers, we may presume that the *suvarṇa* they are referring to is gold bullion weighing about 144 grains Contemporary silver coins were the *Gadaiyās* whose normal weight was 60 grains Allowing for the usual 20 per cent alloy in the silver currency, the statement of Nārada would show that the ratio between the prices of gold and silver was $50 \times 48 = 2400$, i e., about 17 1 If we ignore the alloy in the silver coins, then the ratio would be 20 1

²³ कार्षापणा दक्षिणस्या दिशि रौप्यं प्रवर्तते । पणैर्निबद्धं पूर्वस्या विशतिस्तु पणं स तु ॥ 57
माषो विशतिभागस्तु पणस्य परिकीर्तितः । पणस्तु षोडशी भागो ज्ञेयः कार्षापणस्य तु ॥ 58
कार्षापणी तु चतुर्भागा माषस्य च पणस्य च । पचनया प्रदेशे तु सञ्ज्ञेयं व्यावहारिकी ॥
कार्षापणप्रमाणं तु निबद्धमिह वै तथा । 59

कार्षापणोऽडिका ज्ञेया ताश्चतसस्तु धानका । ता द्वादश सुवर्णस्तु दीनारास्त्य स एव तु ॥ 60

This would show that silver had now become twice as cheap as it was in the Gupta period

There is other evidence to show that such was really the case at about the advent of the Muslim rule Bhāskarāchārya, who flourished in the 12th century A D, has given the relative value of the coins current in his time In verse 2 of his *Līlālatī*, he states that 16 silver *drammas* were equal to one golden *nishka* ²⁴ Unfortunately he has not given us the weights of these coins referred to by him, but obviously he must be referring to the silver and golden coins current in his age We have shown already how the unit of both these coinages was a piece of about 60 grains in the 11th and the 12th centuries Bhāskara's statement that sixteen silver *drammas* were equal to one golden *nishka* would then show that the ratio between the prices of gold and silver was 16 : 1 We have of course made no allowance for the alloy in either coin Bhāskara therefore supports the conclusion we have drawn from Nārada Brihaspati and Kātyāyana

We however get a still more decisive confirmation of this conclusion from the data in the *Sūkra-smṛiti*, which may be placed towards the end of the Hindu period Śūkra expressly declares that gold was sixteen times costlier than silver ²⁵ This statement is explicit, we have not to speculate about the probable weight of any coins referred to or the alloy they might have contained It is therefore clear that towards the end of the Hindu period the prices of the white metal had fallen, and that it was as much as 16 times cheaper than gold The conclusion to nearly the same effect which we had above drawn from Nārada, Brihaspati and Kātyāyana is therefore a correct one, though we had to rely upon rather ambiguous data

The above conclusion holds good of northern India. In the extreme south silver was very rare No silver currency is known to have prevailed in the Sātavāhana, Chola, Pāṇḍya and Kerala kingdoms Silver coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarni and Yajñaśrī Sātakarni were due to the temporary influence of Kaśhapā currency Silver punch marked coins are sometimes found in south India, but their number is very small The Rājaraṣeśvara temple at Tanjore has a number of inscriptions recording presents of ornaments and utensils to the deity They are however all gold, silver ones appear but once only The editor has justly observed 'It looks as if the king

²⁴ वराटकानां दशकद्वयं यत्तां ककिणीं तांश्च पणश्चतस्रः ।

ते षोडश द्रम इहावगम्यो द्रमैस्तथा षोडशानिश्च निश्च ॥ Chap I, verse 2

²⁵ रजतं षोडशगुणं भवेत्स्वर्णस्य मूल्यकं । ताम्रं रजतमूल्यं स्याद्व्याघ्रऽशीतिगुणं तथा ॥

had more gold and precious stones at his disposal than silver"²⁶ It is curious to note that when silver utensils are mentioned, the king takes particular care to state the sources from which they were obtained²⁷, this would seem to show that they were a greater rarity than the golden ornaments and utensils. In the immense plunder that Mahikafur carried away from the south, there was hardly any silver, it consisted mostly of gold, pearls and precious stones.

It is therefore but natural that silver should be much dearer in the south than it was in the north. We have however no definite reliable information on the point. In *South Indian Epigraphy Report* for 1915 the summary of an inscription of Kulottunga I, dated in his 29th year (1099 A.D.), has been given, in the course of which we are told that one *lāśu* of gold could purchase 30 *palams* of copper and 26 *palams* of silver²⁸. This record would show that copper was almost as dear as silver, and that one *lāśu*, i.e., about 25 grams of gold²⁹ were equal in value to 26 *palams*, i.e., 104 *panas*, i.e., 104×144 , i.e., 14,976 grams of silver. This would show the ratio between gold and silver prices to be something like 800 : 1. Such was never the case at any time in ancient or modern history.

Thinking that there was some obvious mistake in the summary of the record, as published in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, I made further enquiries in the matter, but Rai Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu, Superintendent for Epigraphy, assured me that the summary was substantially correct as far as the readings in the inscription were concerned. For the text of the record reads as follows —

Kāśu on rukku ſembu nīrai muppadān palamāga, at the rate of 30 *palams* of copper for one *lāśu*.

Velu nīrai irupadān palattukku kāśu mukkalum, at the rate of $\frac{3}{4}$ *kāśu* for 20 *palams* of silver.

As Rai Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu has suggested in his letter, we shall have to suppose that a mistake may have crept in the inscription itself when it was quoting the relative prices, or the weight of *palam* in the case of copper may have been much heavier than what it was in the case of silver. We have already seen above how *māsha* weighed only two *rattis* in the case of silver, but five *rattis* in the case of gold and copper. It is clear that we cannot conclude from this record that copper was almost as dear as silver, and that the latter was about 800 times cheaper than gold.

²⁶ *S I I*, Vol II, p 416

²⁷ Cf. "The sacred silver utensils presented from his own treasures, those seized from the Chera king and the Pandyas in Malai Nadu and those acquired as booty after defeating the same enemies." It would thus appear that the Pandyas and Keralas had some silver, probably imported from abroad. *Ibid*, p 419

²⁸ *Op cit*, p 198

²⁹ Usually one *lāśu* was equal to $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *kalañju* weighing about 50 grams, but this record expressly describes its *lāśu* as being one half of a *kalañju*.

It may not be out of place here to refer briefly to some data about the relative prices of gold and silver in the Muslim period also. The *Imperial Gazetteer* states that the ratio of these prices was about 8 : 1 in c 1200 A D, but fell to 7 : 1 after Alauddin's conquest of the Deccan, which resulted in the importation of vast quantities of gold, looted from the southern countries. At the time of Sher Shah the ratio rose to 9 : 4.⁸⁰ This would show that silver became twice as dear after the Muslim conquest as it was before it. With the establishment of the Moghul rule, the prices of silver went down. From Tavernier, who visited India towards the middle of the 17th century, we learn that 14 silver rupees were equal in value to one golden one. As the weight of both the rupees was practically the same, we may take it that the ratio of the prices of gold and silver was 14 : 1. Later on silver became somewhat cheaper still, at the beginning of the 19th century it could be purchased at the rate of about Rs. 16 per tola.

RELATIVE PRICES OF SILVER AND COPPER

Let us now proceed to consider the relative prices of silver and copper. A quotation from *Hārīta Dharma Sūtra*, preserved by the *Vyavahārakalpataru*, supplies us the earliest available data on this point. It states that the legal rate of interest was eight (copper) *panas* per month on a capital of 25 (silver) *purānas*, and proceeds to add that on this calculation the capital would be doubled in 4 years and 2 months, i.e., in 50 months.⁸¹ The interest in 50 months would be 400 (copper) *panas* and they would thus be equal to 25 (silver) *purānas*. One *purāna* would thus be equal to 16 *panas*. This would remind us of the present day currency according to which one four anna piece is equal to 16 copper *panas*. The *purāna* of Hārīta weighed 32 *rattis*, and *pana* 20 *māshas* or 100 *rattis*. The *purāna* further contained an alloy of about 20 per cent. The data of Hārīta would thus show that about 25 *rattis* of silver would be equal to 100 *rattis* of copper, the ratio of their prices would thus be in the vicinity of 1 : 64. At this early period the ratio between the prices of gold and silver was in the vicinity of 1 : 10, the relative prices of the three metals would then be 1 : 10 : 640.

The Indo-Baktrians, the Indo-Scythians and the Indo-Parthians have issued very extensive coinage in silver and copper, we however get no clue to ascertain the relative prices of their silver and copper currency. The silver coinage is on the whole seen to be following an intelligible weight system, but the same can hardly be

⁸⁰ *Op cit*, Vol IV, pp. 513-4

⁸¹ पुराणपंचविंशत्या मासेऽष्टपण्या वृद्धिः । एव सप्तममकैश्चतुर्निवर्द्धितमायान् मतिरिते ।
Quoted in *Vyavahārakalpataru*, p. 116

said to be the case with reference to the copper issues. The *Smritis* refer to copper *panas* of 144 and 180 grains, but heavier *panas* were circulating in the reigns of Apollodotus and Menander, who have issued a large number of copper pieces weighing in the vicinity of 240 grains. A large number of Kushāna copper coins weigh 260 and 130 grains, showing thereby that the copper unit at this time was of 260 grains. These Greek and Kushāna pieces of 240 and 260 grains would be of 26 and 28 *māshas*, they would thus be *panas* heavier than those of 24 *māshas* mentioned by the *Agni-purāna* ³²

The silver drachm had appreciated in weight during this period and used to be of 75 grains ³³. If we assume that the old ratio between the silver and copper units of 16 : 1, which prevails still to-day, was holding good at this time also, then the silver drachm of 75 grains would be equal to 16 copper *panas*, each equal to about 250 grains in weight. Allowing for an alloy of 20 per cent in the silver unit, this would show that 60 grains of silver would be equal to 16×250 grains of copper. The ratio between the relative prices would be about 66 : 1 ³⁴. This ratio is nearly the same as the one we have deduced from the data in the *Smritis*.

The next clue to the prices of silver and copper is to be obtained from *Nārada-smṛiti*, which states that one silver *kārshāpana* was equal to 16 copper *panas* as a general rule, but equal to 20 *panas* in the east. If we ignore the alloy in the silver coin, and assume that the copper coin was of 80 and not 100 *rattis*, this would show that 32 *rattis* of silver were equal in value to 16×80 , i.e., 1,280 *rattis* of copper. This would give a ratio of 1 : 40, which is rather high. This ratio would be 1 : 50 if we allow for the usual 20 per cent alloy in the silver coin, and 1 : 62, if we assume that the copper *pana* was 100 *rattis* in weight. Nārada expressly states that the *pana* was of 20 *māshas* (*ante, p. n.*), so the last-mentioned conclusion would seem to be the most probable one.

In the east, one silver *kārshāpana* was worth 20 *panas* of copper. It is possible that this was the case because the copper *pana* there was smaller. If however such was not the case, the ratio of the silver and copper prices there would be in the vicinity of 80 : 1.

The *Sūkranīti* expressly declares that silver was 80 times dearer than copper ³⁵. This price ratio would correspond to that prevailing in the east according to Nārada.

³² *Ante*, p. 3, n. 10

³³ I do not think it probable that the 75 grain pieces were intended to pass for diadrachms.

³⁴ This conclusion is only tentative. It is possible to argue that 240 grain pieces were $1\frac{1}{2}$ *pana* pieces or $1\frac{1}{4}$ *pana* pieces, as Cunningham has done. I however think this theory very improbable.

³⁵ ताम्र रजतस्य स्यात्पायोशीतिगुणं तथा । IV, 2, 92

The *Medinī* states that one silver *dramma* was equal to 16 copper *panas*⁸⁶, the *Lilāvati* of Bhāskarāchārya also gives the same ratio⁸⁷. The silver unit in the currency at the time of Bhāskarāchārya was of about 50 grains, and allowing for an alloy of 20 per cent, the data in *Lilāvati* would show that 40 grains of silver were equal in value to 16×140 grains of copper. The ratio in the prices of the two metals would thus be 1 : 56. This is a much higher ratio than the one mentioned by Śukra. We however do not know what was the unit of the copper currency actually in vogue in the time of the *Lilāvati*. If we assume that it was a *pana* of 20 and not 16 *māshas*, then the ratio between the prices of the two metals would be about 1 : 70.

The above discussion will show that the ratio between the prices of silver and copper usually varied from 1 : 60 to 1 : 80. There were two verses in the *Bṛhaspatismṛiti*, which clearly seemed to indicate that the ratio between the prices of gold and copper was 48 : 1. It must have now become clear how the inference that can be legitimately drawn from the above verses in *Bṛhaspati* is utterly irreconcilable with the information supplied by all other reliable sources. We are therefore perfectly justified in assuming that the verses in *Bṛhaspati* are placed in a wrong juxtaposition by Dr. Jolly, or that they are misquoted by the later writers.

In conclusion we may briefly refer to the relative prices of silver and copper in the Muslim period. Thomas has shown that the ratio between the prices of silver and copper was about 1 : 72 during the reign of Sher Shah. This ratio is in the vicinity of the one indicated by Śukra. In the reign of Akbar one rupee of 180 grains was equal to 40 *dāms* of 320 grains. If we ignore the alloy in the rupee, this gives the ratio between the prices of the two metals as 1 : 70. At the time of Tavernier (c. 1650 A.D.) copper seems to have become cheaper, for he states that one rupee exchanged for 49 copper *dāms* at Surat and 55 at Agra. In the reign of Aurangzeb the copper prices soared so high that the emperor was compelled to reduce the weight of his copper *dām* by 33 per cent. The ratio of their prices seems to have been in the vicinity of 1 : 48.

⁸⁶ कार्षापणोऽस्मि कार्षिके पणवोऽशकेऽपिवा । *Padmaka*, v 92

⁸⁷ *Ante*, p 9, n 24

PAILA HOARD OF PUNCH-MARKED COINS

BY E H C WALSH, ICS (RETIRED)

In this paper an examination is made of a hoard of 1014 Silver Punch-marked coins found at Paila in the Kheri District of the United Provinces in 1922. The hoard, which was preserved in an earthen pot, originally contained 1245 coins, only 1014 of them were however available for examination¹.

The coins are in a remarkably good state of preservation and are of especial interest as they are of a distinct type, no examples of which had been found up to their discovery, as they bear a group of four marks only on the obverse, instead of the group of five marks which characterises other punch-marked coins that have been found throughout India, and also are of a different standard of weight of about 42 grains, and are therefore distinct from the *Pana*, *Kāṁshāpana*, *Purāna* of about 52 grains or 32 Ratis of Manu's standard to which all the Five Mark Punch-marked coins belong. From their provenance, and that of similar coins which have since been found, they would appear to be coins of the ancient kingdom of Kōśala, before its conquest by the kingdom of Magadha and its subsequent inclusion in the Mauryan Empire.

INTRODUCTORY

These coins were originally examined by the late Mr W E M Campbell, ICS, who, unfortunately was not able to publish the results of his examination before his death in 1923. After his death, I offered to make an examination and classification of the coins, and was asked by the Committee of the Provincial Museum to do so. The coins together with others which had been with Mr Campbell, were deposited in the British Museum, and were made over to me by its authorities. Mr Campbell had arranged the coins into eight classes but had left no notes or papers of any kind with them.

In 1917, however, when I was engaged in examining a hoard of silver punch-marked coins found at Golakhpur in Patna city, Mr Campbell had kindly sent for my perusal his Treasure Trove Report and the notes which he had made up to that time, on the present coins, and I kept notes of them, and returned them to him. I have included those notes of Mr Campbell's in my paper on the Golakhpur

¹ [Some coins of this class which have been recently published by Mr Durga Prasad (*Num Sup* XLV, pp 12-13 & Pl VI) probably represent a portion of the missing part of this hoard.—EDITOR, A S A]

coins, in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1919. In that paper, referring to my conclusion from the Golakhpur coins that the marks on the obverse of punch-marked coins occur in regular groups, which at that time, was not generally recognized,² I wrote, with reference to Mr Campbell's notes on the present coins, as follows —

"Mr W E M Campbell, I C S, has also come to the same conclusion from the examination of a most extensive and important find of 1,245 punch-marked coins at Paila in the Kheri District of the United Provinces,"³ and "Mr Campbell has kindly let me see his Treasure Trove Report and his notes on the Paila coins. He has found that they bear a group of 4 marks on the obverse, which is constant for each class of coins, and has classified them according to such groups, as follows —

Class I, 291 coins, Class II, 481 coins, Class III, 254 coins, Class IV, 5 coins, Class IV-A, 6 coins, Class V, 44 coins, Class VI, 4 coins, Class VII, 2 coins, Class VIII, 1 coin, coins of the type of Class I, II or III, but with distinctive symbol missing or obscure, 138 coins, the remainder being 12 broken pieces and 7 corroded

"Mr Campbell has also let me see the list of the figures of the marks on these coins

"It is to be hoped that he will publish the result of his examination, which will be a most valuable contribution to the subject"

'That there is no general uniformity amongst the reverse marks is also the case in the coins found at Paila. Mr Campbell's Treasure Trove Report, and his list of marks, which he has kindly let me see, show that while, as already noted, only 13 marks occur in certain fixed groups on the obverse of 1,226 coins, no less than 89 marks, in which also all varieties of the same object have been included under one number, occur on the reverse"⁴

Unfortunately, Mr Campbell did not live to complete and publish his examination of the coins

The further examination of the present 1014 coins shows that the number of decipherable reverse marks or groups of marks, as shown in Plates II, III, IV of the Reverse Marks, amounts to 199 and the total number of the Reverse Marks included in the above groups is 417. And in addition to these there are many varieties on the different punches of some of the marks shown in the Table

² [The late Dr Spooner was the first scholar to draw attention to this important circumstance in his paper on the Peshawar Government House Hoard of punch marked coins published in *A R*, *A S I*, 1905 6, at p 151 — Editor, *A S A*]

³ *J B O R S*, 1919, p 20

I further found that the coins had to be divided into thirteen classes and not eight as they were divided by Mr Campbell. And it will be seen, from the respective number of coins in the eight classes which Mr Campbell proposed, that his arrangement differed materially from my present classification, though they are both on the same principle, being based in each case on the fixed groups of the Four Obverse Marks. As regards the present classification, however, and all the conclusions drawn from it, and from the examination of the coins, I am solely responsible.

The total number of the coins, as then given by Mr Campbell, is 1245, whereas the total number of the coins received by me was only 1014. In the coins which I received Mr Campbell had placed apart certain coins which he had allotted for distribution to the various Museums. I found it necessary, however, for the classification and arrangement of the coins, to include these in the general list of the coins.

Among the coins which I received, Mr Campbell had also put apart in separate envelopes 36 coins containing 20 different "Types" of the Mark of the Elephant which he had noticed on the coins. With regard to these I wrote in my Report to the Museum—"On some of the envelopes of the coins of Classes I—V, I have noted "Elephant Type (—)" or "Elephant Die (—)". This refers to 36 coins of one or other of those classes, which had been placed together by Mr Campbell, as representing the different types of the Elephant (Mark No 3), which he had found on the coins. I found, however, on going through the coins, that those dies only represent some of the many different dies of the Elephant Mark occurring on the 990 coins comprised in those classes, and that the difference of those particular dies in no way affected the classification, and they had to be separated for the purpose of including them in their respective classes."

I have, however, made casts of the coins bearing the more distinctive of those types, and they are shown on the Plates of the coins, and different types are noted in the description of the Plates of the coins.

I completed the examination of the coins in 1928 and forwarded them to the Lucknow Provincial Museum with a full report and with the present Plate I of the Obverse Marks and the classification of the coins, and with each coin placed in a separate envelope with the Class, Obverse Marks, Reverse Marks, Weights, and other particulars noted on them. Nothing which has since been published leads me to alter or modify the conclusions contained in that report, which, together with such conclusions and observations as arise from it, is contained in the present paper.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE COINS

THE OVERSE MARKS

The coins all bear a Group of Four Marks on the obverse, and fall into classes which bear the same fixed group of marks. There are thus thirteen classes. The obverse marks and the classification of the coins are shown on Plate I.

Thirteen different obverse marks occur on the coins, they are as follows —

Mark 1 Three Serpentes round a Central Boss. This mark occurs on all the coins and is the distinctive mark of this coinage.

The mark, as it occurs on the Later Coins, is clear on Pl V, 26 and 28, and VI, 20 and 23. The mark is of larger size on the Older Classes of the coins, as will be seen on Pl VII, 6 (Class X) and 14 (Class XII), on which it is 13 mm and 16 mm in diameter respectively, as compared, for example, with Pl VI, 23 (Class IIa) on which it is only 11 mm.

Mark 2 A Taurine occurs in two forms, namely 2a, enclosed in a Shield, in the Later Classes I to VIII, and 2b, of larger size and without the Shield in the Older Classes IX to XIII.

The mark 2a is clear on Pl V, 21 and 32 on both of which it occurs twice, and Pl VI, 9, and in the older form, 2b, on Pl VII, 5 (along the bottom left corner) and VII, 12 (at the top left corner of the coin).




Mark 3 (Classes I to V) An Elephant, facing either to the right or to the left. This mark occurs in Classes I to V. I have therefore divided each of those classes into Sub-Classes *a*, in which the Elephant faces to the right, and *b*, in which it faces to the left, and *c*, in which the mark is not sufficiently clear, or complete, to decide the direction in which it faces. The different direction of the Elephant would appear to show a different issue of those coinages. In class V, the Elephant faces only to the left. On four coins of Class III, Nos 939, 940, 941 and 941A the mark does not appear.

The Elephant is of a great number of different types. This is not, however, peculiar to the Elephant, but applies equally to the other marks. It is, in fact, difficult to find a number of any mark which have been stamped with an identical punch. This is to be expected, as the number of punches in use at the same time must have been very great, and each one must have been individually cut.

The Elephant occurs both Tusked and Tuskless. An example of a dumpy tusked form will be seen on Pl V, 1 and of a lanky tusked one on Pl V, 10 and 21, and of a dumpy tuskless form on Pl V, 8, and of a lanky tuskless one on Pl V, 2 and 3, and Pl. VI, 3.

A special variety of the mark, with two dots above the Elephant, occurs on two coins of Class IIa, Nos 476 and 477, which are of different punches, and with three dots above the Elephant on two coins of Class IIa, Nos 517 and 518. As the design is different, they would appear to indicate different issues of the Class II coinage.

Mark 4 (Class I) A Pentagram. This mark occurs in two forms, the one plain, and the other with a dot in each of the angles, and these would appear to indicate different issues of the coinages. The Pentagram-with-Dots, occurs on 81 of the 470 coins in Class I, namely on 15 in Class Ia, on 48 square and 13 round coins in Class Ib, and on 5 coins in Class Ic. They are noted in the List of the Coins.

The form of the incuse of the Pentagram also varies, being circular , pentagonal , or indented , showing the use of different punches.

The Pentagram does not occur on any of the British Museum punch-marked coins, or on any of the Five Mark coins of which I am aware. It is not peculiar to India, and was a magic symbol known in the West, as the Pentagram, Pentacle, Pentalpha, and "The Wizard's Foot". It is not possible to attribute any particular significance to it on the present coins.

Mark 5 (Class II) A Circle and a Crescent, with an Arrow-head on either side between them. They appear to represent the Sun and Moon.

Mark 6 (Class III) A Hare seated on its haunches. I take this animal to be a hare, and not a dog, because the hare (*Śaśa*) is associated with the Moon (*Śaśī*, *Śaśadhara*) and also from the sticking-up ears, and the short up-curved scut of the tail.

Mark 7 (Classes IV and VI) A Humped Bull facing to the left. As on all other punch-marked coins, the horns of the Bull curve forward, namely, downwards towards the head. This would appear to be with the object of distinguishing this mark from the elephant, on which the tusks curve upwards, when only a portion of the mark appears on the coin.

The Bull occurs, both in a Dumpy type as on Pl VI, 12 and 13, which are both of an identical punch, and Pl VI, 14, and in a Lanky type as on Pl VI, 23 and 24.

Mark 8 (Class V, VI, VII and VIII) A Circle and a Crescent. The components of this mark are similar to **Mark 5**, without the arrow-heads (Pl VI, 17 and 25), and with a dot in the centre of the circle (Pl VI, 24).

Mark 9 (Class VII) A Palm-Tree (Pl VI, 25).

Mark 10 A Tree (Class VIII) Pl VI, 26 and 27, which are of different punches.

Mark 11 (Classes IX to XIII) A Hexagon formed by two Triangles, with a Dot in the centre It is difficult to get a clear example of this mark, as the coins on which it occurs are old and worn It is clearest on Pl VII, 15 and 16 The only Five-Mark Punch-marked coins on which this mark occurs are the Golakhpur Hoard, found at Patna ⁵ This symbol is not peculiar to India, it also occurs in the West, where, as a magical symbol it is known as "Solomon's Seal"

Mark 12 (Class IX) A Wheel (Pl VI, 23) on the "Reverse," namely the Older Obverse of that Double-Obverse coin, and on Pl VII, 1, 2 and 3

Mark 13 (Classes X to XIII) A Circle with Curved Foliations round it. This mark occurs in different varieties in the above classes, for which reason they have been shown as separate classes But they would appear to be different varieties of the same mark, in which case Classes X, XI, XII and XIII should be considered as one Class The mark, Class X, is shown on Pl VII, 5, on which it is clear, and on Pl VII, 6 (bottom left hand) Class XI can be seen on Pl VII, 7 along the top, on Pl VII, 8 at top left corner, on Pl VII, 9 at the bottom, on Pl VII, 11 at the bottom right edge, and on Pl VII, 12 on centre left And Class XII appears on Pl VII, 14 on the top left edge and on Pl VII 15 on the top right hand On these old coins, the marks are much worn.

THE ORDER OF STAMPING THE MARKS

The order of stamping the marks cannot be determined from the coins In these large coins bearing only four marks, there is more room for the marks, and consequently much less overstampings than on the coins bearing five marks

Mark 1, The Serpentine, is stamped over another mark on 6 coins —Over the Elephant on three coins, Nos 517, 624 (Pl V, 34) and 868, over the Pentagram on two coins, Nos 5 and 298, and over the Hare (Mark 6) on one coin, No 815

Mark 2, Taurine-in-Shield, is stamped over another mark on 4 coins —Nos 642 (Pl V, 32), 815 and 868, and over Mark 5 on coin No 518

The Elephant is stamped over another mark on 6 coins, over the Serpentine on coin No 6, over the Pentagram Plain on two coins, Nos 5 and 177, over the Pentagram with Dots on two coins, Nos 4 and 298, and over Mark 5 on Coin No 518

The Pentagram Plain is stamped over another mark, the Elephant, on one coin No 6

⁵ J B O R S, 1919, pp 16—72, Pl IV, Fig 4.

The Hare is stamped over another mark, the Elephant, on one coin, No 912 (Pl VI, 8)

In some cases the same mark has been stamped twice on the same coin, though this is never the case with the Serpentine. The Taurine-in-Shield is stamped twice on four coins —No 530 (Class II a) Pl V, 21, No 642 (Class II b) Pl V, 32, No 941 A (Class III c), and No 973 (Class V b) a Double-Obverse Coin, one of them stamped over the older Plain Taurine

The Elephant is stamped twice on coin No 912 (Class III b) Pl VI, 8. The Pentagram is stamped twice on coin No 429 (Class I b), Pl V, 15


The Elephant does not appear on three coins, Nos 939, 940, and 941 (Class III c)

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MARKS

The Serpentine (Mark 1) occurs on all the present coins. It also occurs on all the 25 coins of similar type obtained from Mathura, illustrated by Mr Durga Prasad (*Num Sup* XLV, Pl. XXXI, and on the 12 coins of this type in the Lucknow Museum, illustrated by him in his Plates I, II and III,⁶ and on 5 coins obtained from Lucknow, on his Plate VI. It does not occur on any of the Five-Mark Punch-marked coins. It may therefore be taken as the distinctive mark of the kingdom of Kosala.



Two of the above coins are coins of the present classes.—The coin on his Plate VI, 1, is a coin of Class Ia, and the coin on his Plate VI, 3 is a coin of Class IIa. Mark 4 only partly appears on the edge of that coin, with the crescent side only showing, and consequently has been incorrectly drawn on that Plate as consisting of two crescents with the arrow-heads.

Cunningham has also illustrated a coin of Class Ia in his examples of punch-marked coins on *CAI*, Pl I, No 10.

The Taurine (Mark 2 a, and b), which also occurs on all the coins, is of general occurrence on all punch-marked coins, both as an Obverse and a Reverse Mark, both by itself and as forming part of other marks. No special significance can, therefore, be attached to it. It appears to be merely a propitious or protective mark, similar to the Horseshoe in Europe. I would here observe that Mr Durga Prasad considered that this Mark is not a Taurine, and considers it to be the Brāhmī letter M.⁷ The Taurine, however, is a solid dot with crescent-like horns above, , while the Brāhmī letter

⁶ Mr Durga Prasad's Plates I, II and III must be viewed from the top, so as to obtain the coins in relief, and to identify the marks.

⁷ *Num Sup* XIV, 1935, p 17, and pp 47—51.

M is always a hollow loop,  and, in that form, occurs on punch-marked coins as a Reverse Mark. Also there is no reason why the Brāhmī letter M should form a part of the many different symbols of which the Taurine forms a part, on punch-marked coins. The Taurine is also distinct from the Nandipāda . The taurine is a symbol which is not peculiar to India, but, like the Triskelis, which also forms part of different symbols in punch-marked coins, is found throughout the prehistoric world.

The Elephant is of general occurrence on punch-marked coins. It is a symbol of royalty in India. From Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* we know that while coinage was a royal prerogative in ancient India, the right to coin was also delegated to local authorities. This would also appear to have been the case in the ancient kingdom of Kośala, in regard to which the Cambridge History of India, after reviewing the ancient references, notes "Kośala was the most important of the kingdoms in North India during the lifetime of the Buddha. At the same time it is not probable that the administration was very much centralized. The instance of the very thorough Home Rule enjoyed, as we have seen, by the Sākyaas should make us alive to the greater probability that autonomous local bodies, with larger powers than the village communities, which were, of course, left undisturbed, were still in existence throughout this wide territory." ⁸

From the examination of 1171 Pre-Mauryan Punch-marked coins found in the Bhur-Mound at Taxila, ⁹ I came to the conclusion that the Elephant may indicate coins struck at the royal mint, to distinguish them from those issued by authorized Local Authorities. This may also be its significance on the present coins.

A passage in the *Vissuddhimagga* of Buddhaghosha, quoted by Dr D R Bhandarkar, states with reference to punch-marked coins that whereas the marks on them might appear to be meaningless to an ordinary person, a shroff "would be in a position to decide, after handling the coins in a variety of ways, which of them were struck at which village, borough, town, mountain and river bank, and also by what mint-master" ¹⁰. The marks, therefore, indicate both the Authorities and the Localities of the coins. The Locality Marks may be such as rivers (as on the Erān coins), or hills, namely the Hill-Mark specially designated by some special symbol attached to it, such as a Hare, or a Bull, or a Tree on it, or a River or a Tank attached to it or a Tank by itself, or a special Tree by itself. In

⁸ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol I, p 178

⁹ *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No 59, *Punch marked coins from Taxila*

¹⁰ "Excavations at Beasagar" by D R Bhandarkar, M A, in *A R, A S I* 1913 14 p 212

the case of the Five-Mark coins it is often possible to assign such Locality Marks, and in the case of the Bhu-Mound coins, I have made their classification on that basis. But in the case of the present coins there is no mark which appears to be a Locality Mark, unless, possibly, the Palm-Tree (Mark 9) and the other Tree (Mark 10). And, with the exception of the Serpentine (Mark 1), none of the other marks can be definitely assigned as Authority Marks.

THE RELATIVE AGE OF THE COINS

The Classes of the coins have been arranged mainly according to the number of coins comprised in them, thus Class I contains 469 coins, Class II 282 coins, and Class III 206 coins. The coins within each Class have been arranged according to the number of marks on the reverse, which indicate the length of time that they were in circulation. In Table A is given a statement of the number of coins in each class bearing the respective number of Reverse Marks. Judged on this basis the different classes of the coins fall into the following chronological order, beginning from the most recent Class III, then Class I, followed in progressive order by Classes IV, VIII, VI, VII, II and V. All these Classes bear the mark of the Taurine-in-Shield.

On the Blank Reverses of some coins of Classes I, III and IV there are excrescences, caused apparently by hollows in the surface on which the plate of the coins was beaten out, and the fact that these have not been worn down shows that the coin had had little circulation. Some examples of such reverses of Classes III and IV, are shown on Plate VII, 17, 18, 19, 20. They are distinguishable from punch-marks, as they project above the surface of the coin, whereas the punch-mark is in relief on a sunk incuse and never projects above the surface of the coin.

The coins of Classes IX to XIII, which bear the mark of the Hexagon and of the Taurine of larger size and without the Shield, are distinctly older than the other Classes. This is also shown by the fact that certain coins bearing the Obverse of Classes V, VI and VII have been restruck on the Reverse of an older coin of Class IX, the worn Obverse of which appears as the Reverse of the later coins. These coins are shown on Plate VI, 15, 20, 22, 23, 24 and 25. The reverse marks stamped over the older obverse during its subsequent circulation will be noticed.

Other coins of these older classes are shown on Plate VII, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, on which the great number of reverse marks can be seen, showing a very long period of circulation. The length of time between the original date of these coins and of those current at the date of deposit in the hoard must be very considerable.

On the other hand, there are certain coins of Class IX which show that they have had little circulation. These are No 989 (Pl VII, 1) with clear obverse and blank reverse, Nos 990 and 991 (Pl VII, 3 and 4) with three reverse marks, and No 992 (Pl VII), with two reverse marks. This would show, either that the coinage bearing the marks of Class IX continued over a long period, or, which is probably more likely, that those coins had been placed in a hoard at an earlier date, and so were withdrawn from circulation. A hoard was not all deposited at the same time, but was rather of the nature of a family bank in which deposits were made from time to time and may have been made in successive generations, and from which money would be withdrawn as it was required, and that not in the order in which it was deposited in the hoard.

DOUBLE-OBVERSE COINS

The Double-Obverse Coins are as follows —

Coin No	Later Obverse	Earlier Obverse
973	Class V b	Class IX Pl VI, 15
979	Class V b	Class IX Pl VI, 20
983	Class VI	Class IX Pl VI, 22
984	Class VI	Class IX Pl VI, 23
985	Class VI	Class IX Pl VI, 24
986	Class VII	Class IX Pl VI, 25
994	Class XI	Classes IX to XIII, probably Class IX, Pl VII, 6

SQUARE AND ROUND COINS

As in other hoards of punch-marked coins, the coins of the present hoard are both square and round or rounded. The square and round coins are shown separately under each Class and Sub-Class in the list of the coins and are arranged according to the number of their Reverse Marks. They are also shown separately in Table A, which shows the coins in each Class according to the number of Reverse Marks on them, showing their length of circulation. From this it will be seen that the two forms of coins were in circulation together at the same time, though the square coins are more numerous than the round. No reason can yet be assigned for the concurrent issue of these two forms. There are no round coins in the present Classes V and VI.

There can be little doubt that, the "Square" coins were chiselled out of flat plates of metal. In most cases the cutting of the chisel

did not go right through the plate, and the flans were then broken off, for the edges of many coins show a sloping clean section for half the thickness, while the remainder of the edge is rough. The edges of many of the coins also show that the weight was subsequently adjusted by cutting off the corners with a chisel, if necessary.

The method of manufacture of the round coins is not easy to decide. They are generally oval in shape. The possible methods are (1) stamping out of a flat plate of metal, (2) cutting an oval or round shape, or (3) by beating out a spherical lump of metal. The first may be dismissed, as in that case the shape and size of the coins would be more uniform than they are. If they were cut from the sheet, the evenness of the curved edge shows that they must have been cut with shears and not with a chisel as in the case of the square coins. But, from the regularity of the curved edge, it would appear that they were made from globules of molten metal of the required weight, either made in a mould, or dropped into water, as in the case of shot, which were then beaten out flat.

OBVERSE MARKS ON THE REVERSE

In the case of the Five-Mark coins certain of the obverse marks occasionally occur, in a smaller size, on the reverse of other coins, but never on the reverse of a coin on which they appear as an Obverse Mark. It therefore appears, in respect of those coins, that their significance might be to authorize the circulation of those coins of another area in the area indicated by the said mark. In the Blur-Mound there are eleven of the Obverse Marks which so occur. In the present coins, only two Obverse Marks occur—the Elephant and the Bull.

The Tusked Elephant facing left (Mark 91 a), occurs on one coin No 401 (Class Ib), and Tuskleless Elephant facing left (Mark 91b) occurs on one coin No 619 (Class Ib), and the Bull (Mark 7) occurs as Reverse Mark 93c on Coins No 994 of Class XI (Pl VII, 6) and No 1003 of Class XII (Pl VII, 15), and as Reverse Mark No 93d on the above coin No 1003.

Mr Durga Prasad¹¹ has also given examples of three other obverse marks which occur on the Reverse of other coins of the present type—namely the Serpentine (Mark 1), the Taurine, and another mark which does not occur on the present coins. The Taurine, however, is of such general occurrence and the most common Reverse Mark on all coins, that it cannot in any case be considered as being an Obverse Mark on the Reverse.

¹¹ *Num Sup* XLVII, 1937, p 57 and Pl IV, Figs A, C & D

NO RESEMBLANCES OF THE MARKS TO THE INDUS SCRIPT

In the case of the Five-Mark coins, certain of the Obverse Marks bear a striking resemblance to certain signs of the Indus Script on the seals which have been found at Mohenjo-dāro and Harappa. In the case of the Bhīr-Mound Coins there are thirty-one Obverse Marks which bear a direct resemblance to signs in that script. In the present coins, however, and also in the other coins of the present type which have been illustrated by Mr. Durga Prasad¹² there are no marks which resemble signs of the Indus Script.

THE REVERSE MARKS

The Reverse Marks on the present coins are of the usual type on the older class of punch-marked coins. They are much smaller than the obverse marks and are less deeply punched, having been punched on the coins when in circulation, while the Obverse Marks appear to have been punched on to the metal when heated. They are the marks of shroffs, bankers and moneyers, through whose hands the coins passed in the course of circulation. They are of great diversity, and represent a great variety of objects. They are shown on Plates II, III and IV.

The marks have been drawn direct from the coins. Those shown in solid black, such as Nos 13a to 17f, are stamped into the coins (intaglio), as distinct from the others, which, like the obverse marks are in relief on a sunk incuse.

There are 194 different types of marks, which with their distinct varieties amount to 417 distinct marks, and there are probably others amongst those which are too indistinct to be deciphered. This great number can only be accounted for by the coins having circulated over a very extensive area, and, in the case of many, over a long period. The great majority of the marks occur on only a single coin, and others on only two or three coins. Marks 182 to 194 occur only on the older classes of the coins.

Besides designs and ornamental figures, they comprise of Human Figures (No 97), Animals (91—93), Fish (94, 95), Scorpions (43 and 68), Centipedes (44, 45), *Lingams* (72, 73), *Yonis* (76), and, of weapons, spear-heads (77), arrow-head (78), bow-and-arrow (79) and Elephant-Goad, *Ankuśa* (82). Some of the marks resemble, and may be Brāhmī letters, as K, क, (69), G, ग (99a, b, c and 124), T, त (38a-f), DH, ध (106a, b), M म (103 a, b, c) and Y, य (104a, b).

I have prepared a Table showing the coins on which each of the Reverse Marks occur, but as it is necessarily voluminous, I have

¹² *Num. Sup.* XLV, 1935, Pl I, II, III, VI and XXXI

not included it in this paper. The following general conclusions arise from it

The Taurine is the most common mark and occurs on all the classes of the coins, the most common varieties are 1 a, and 1 b, on a great number of the coins, followed by 1 f, which occurs on 33 coins which include 4 coins of the older classes. Varieties, 1 d, k, n, q, and t also occur on the older coins.

The prevalence of the Taurine Mark is also shown by the fact that different varieties of the mark occur on the same coin. Thus, Marks, 1 a, 1 b and 1 f, occur on Coin No 369, and Marks 1 b, 1 h, and 1 l occur on coin No 643, and more than one variety on several coins.

Even where the Reverse Mark is of the same variety, it is often of several different punches, which would show that the same mark was adopted by more than one person. The following marks, for example, are of different dies

Mark 1 a occurs twice on coins Nos 519, 618, 647 and 696; Mark 1 b twice on coins 138, 722 and 729, Mark 1 d on coins 137 and 438, Mark 1 e, twice on coin 548, Mark 1 f twice on coins 729 and 736, Mark 1 k on coins 600 and 601, Mark 7 e twice on coin 183, Mark 9 a twice on coin 1003 (Pl VII, 15, Mark 11 b) twice on coin 518, and Mark 11 e on coins 483 and 484.

Mark 192 occurs three times on coin 999 (Pl VII, 11)

Twelve coins of Class III a, Nos. 833 to 844, which have only one mark on the reverse have all the same mark No 29 c, showing that they all circulated in one neighbourhood and passed through the same hand.

Mr Durga Prasad¹³ has illustrated the reverse marks on 12 coins of similar type in the Lucknow Museum, and 5 coins obtained from Lucknow and 25 coins obtained from Mathura. Almost all those marks correspond with marks on the present coins, which shows that they have circulated in the same localities, and is a further confirmation that they belong to the same class of coins, of the same area.

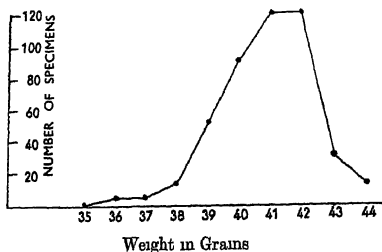
THE WEIGHT OF THE COINS.

The average weight of the coins is between 41 and 42 grains. I have separately weighed 436 of the coins, and their weights in grains are as follows

Weight	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44
No of specimens	2	3	3	7	55	89	120	120	31	6

¹³ *Num Sup* XLV, Pl I, II, III and XXXI

Showing the above result by co-ordinates, the weights as abscissæ, and the number of specimens as ordinates, we get the following diagram¹⁴, which shows an actual standard of 42 grains



Mr Durga Prasad¹⁵ describes thirteen other coins of the Paila class, which are in the Lucknow Museum. Like the Paila coins, they are of the old large-thin type, and their weights vary from 40 to 43.5 grams, their average being 42 grains. Their provenance is not known, but is within the United Provinces. He also obtained twenty similar coins from Lucknow, and twenty-five at Mathura, which, together with the Paila coins, make a total of 1,072 coins of this class. Although twenty-five coins were obtained at Mathura, which is in the country of the Śaurasenās, their provenance is not known, and the fact that 1,014 of these coins were found at Paila in the District of Kheri, which is north of Lucknow, on the borders of Nepal, and others were obtained at Lucknow, points to these being the coins of the ancient kingdom of Kosāla (corresponding to the modern Oudh), which was ultimately conquered and incorporated in the Mauryan Empire. This was far outside the area of early Persian influence, and there appears to be no reason to attribute their weight to a Persian standard.

Mr Durga Prasad considers them to be of an old Indian standard of 24 Rattis. He writes (pp 10-11) 'Colebrooke in his article on *Indian Weights and Measures*, published in the *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1801, page 95 has said that Gopāla Bhatta, an early author, mentions that from the ancient astronomical books it is found that a Dharana was of 24 Raktikās, and he has given a table of weight as follows —

“2 Yavas (barleys) = 1 Guñjā 3 Guñjās = 1 Balla.

¹⁴ “Punch marked Silver Coins, Their Standard of Weight, Age, and Minting” by E. H. C. Walsh in *J. R. A. S.*, 1937, pp 293–304, pp 301–2

¹⁵ *Num. Soc. India*, 1935, p. 100, and *ibid.*, 1936, p. 100.

8 Ballas = 1 Dharana. As 2 barleys are equal to 1 Guñjā or Raktikā, 1 Dharana contains 24 Raktikās or Rattis. It is clear from this that either at some period or locality silver coins of 24 Raktikās standard weight were current. It may be that at some period before Manu the Dharanas were of 24 Raktikās, though in his time they were of 32 Rattis " " "

The weights given in the above Table are the average weights. Thus 36 grains represent coins from 35.51 to 36.50 grains, and similarly 42 grains represent coins from 41.51 to 42.50 grains, and similarly for the other figures. It will be noticed that there are only 31 coins of 43 grains (42.51—43.50), (in Classes I to V), and only 6 coins of 44 grains (43.51—44.50), (in Classes I to III). Of the older coins, Classes IX to XIII, only two (42.25 grs.) are over 42 grains. The standard of 24 Rattis, at Cunningham's weight of 1.83 grains to the Ratti, comes to 43.92, or 44 grains, which is much nearer to the actual weight of the coins, than Manu's 32 Ratti standard is, in the case of the Five-Mark coins.

The widely different provenance of punch-marked coins bearing the same group of Obverse Marks, and therefore of the same coinage, shows the very wide circulation of the punch-marked coins throughout India. But the fact that hitherto no Four-Mark coins have been found in other areas than that of the old kingdom of Kosāla would appear to show that they did not circulate outside that area. This may well be due to their being of a different standard of value.

Mr Durga Prasad^{1b} describes 10 small coins "obtained from Lucknow," of the average weight of 25.2 grains, as Half-Panas of the 32 Ratti standard. He illustrates 4 of these (Pl VIII). They bear only one bold mark on the obverse, and from 2 to 11 marks on the reverse. The Obverse Mark on one of them (No. 3) is the Serpentine (Mark 1), and on two others is a mark which occurs together with Serpentine on other Kosāla-Type coins. As 32 Rattis is the invariable standard of the Five-Mark coins, it would appear that those coins may be coins of Kosāla subsequent to its conquest by the Kingdom of Magadha, which had the 32 Ratti standard.






















^{1b} *Num. Sup.* XLV, 1935, p. 13 and Pl. VIII

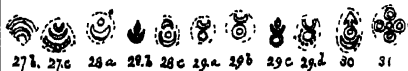
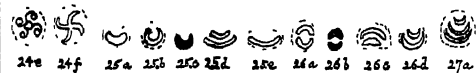
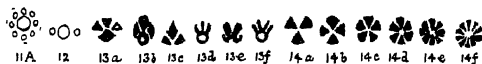
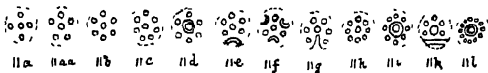
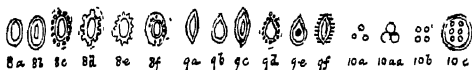
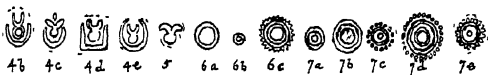
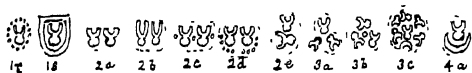
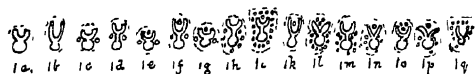
DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES OF THE COINS.

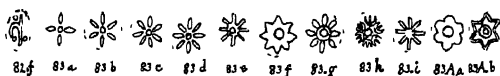
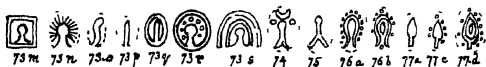
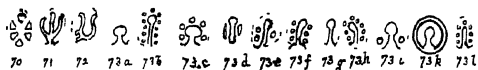
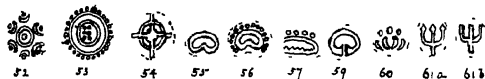
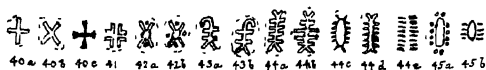
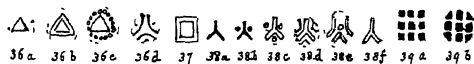
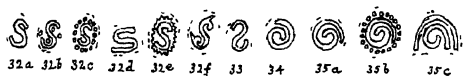
*N B Throughout this paper, Weights are given in Grains
and Sizes in Inches*

PLATE V

No. in Pl	Coin No	Wt	Size	Class	Remarks.
1	1	38 5	72 × 60	I a	Tusked Dumpy Elephant
2	7	40 0	76 × 50	I a	Lanky Tuskless Elephant
3	14	41 75	75 × 55	I a	Do Do
4	18	39 5	76 × 56	I a	Blank Reverse, shows raised excrescences
5	161	39 5	70 × 55	I a	Lanky Tuskless Elephant
6	212	44 0	73 × 60	I a	Do of a different punch.
7	222	39 5	65 × 65	I a	Do Do
8	282	41 25	60 × 55	I b	Dumpy Tuskless Elephant Penta- gram with Dots clear
9	285	40 5	65 × 55	I b	Elephant indistinct
10	286	39 75	65 × 55	I b	Lanky Tusked Elephant
11	287	40 5	65 × 60	I b	Elephant incomplete Penta- gram and Shield clear
12	351	38 0	62 × 56	I b	Reverse Marks 35a and 51c
13	363	42 0	68 × 58	I b	Clear Pentagram Plain
14	366	41 3	62 × 60	I b	Do Do
15	429	41 0	70 × 68	I b	The Pentagram is stamped twice on this coin
16	473	41 5	72 × 65	II a	The legs only of Lanky Type Elephant appear
17	497	41 5	75 × 58	II a	Tusked Elephant
18	501	43 0	80 × 50	II a	Do
19	516	40 5	83 × 48	II a	The Elephant is indistinct
20	518	41 5	75 × 53	II a	Reverse Marks 11b, 11b (large) 29a 83A b
21	530	40 5	76 × 56	II a	The Shield is stamped twice
22	538	41 5	80 × 55	II a	The Elephant is indistinct
23	548	39 0	75 × 62	II a	Reverse Marks 1a, 1e, 1m, 1n, and four other indistinct marks
24	567	40 0	65 × 65	II b	Reverse Clear Marks 1a, 1f, 24a, 73n, 142a
25	583	38 0	60 × 56	II b	Mark 5 clear
26	584	41 5	66 × 66	II b	Marks 1 and 5 clear The latter of a different punch
27	589	41 0	82 × 65	II b	Tusked Elephant Clear marks of a different punch

CLASS	Number of Coins	Serial No. of the Coins	OBSERVE MARKS			
I.	470	1-465, 224 A, 318 A, 318 B, 318 C, 433 A			 3a  3b	
II.	282	466-744 491 A, 501 A, 571 A	"	"	"	
III.	208	745-951 941 A	"	"	"	
IV.	19	952-970	"	"	"	
V.	11	971-981	"	"	"	
VI.	4	982-985	"	"		
VII.	1	986	"	"		
VIII.	2	987-988	"	"		
IX.	4	989-992	"			
X.	1	993	"	"	"	
XI.	8	994-1001	"	"	"	 13 (Var)
XII.	2	1002-1003	"	"	"	Indistinct 13 (Var)
XIII.	1	1004	"	"	"	 13 (Var) [?]





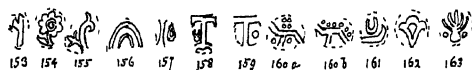
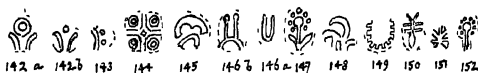
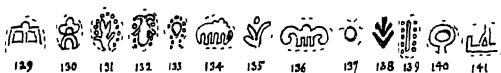
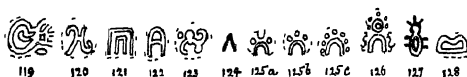
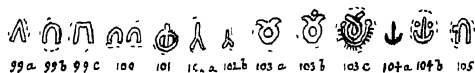
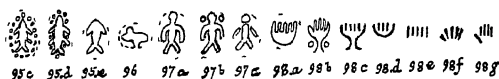
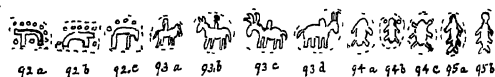


PLATE V (*continued*)

No in Pl	Coin No	Wt	Size	Class	Remarks
28	605	41 0	66 × 60	II b	Tusked Elephant. Clear mark 1
29	606	42 0	80 × 50	II b	Tusked Large Elephant
30	637	39 5	80 × 60	II b	<i>Reverse</i> Clear marks 11b, 152, 153, 154
31	641	42 0	85 × 66	II b	Lanky Tusked Elephant
32	642	38 5	80 × 60	II b	Mark 1 is stamped over the Ele- phant, and then the Shield (Mark 2a) is stamped over Mark 1 There are two Shields stamped on this coin
33	668	42 0	80 × 75	II b	<i>Reverse</i> Marks 1q, 15b, 34a, 77h and four other indistinct Marks
34	670	38 5	75 × 75	II b	Clear Lanky Tusked Elephant

PLATE VI

1	721	42 0	80 × 66	II c	Clear Mark 5
2	739	40 0	65 × 65	II c	<i>Reverse</i> Marks, 1h, 1l, 7a, 11e, 24a
3	816	39 5	75 × 50	III a	Lanky Tuskless Elephant Only the hinder part of Mark 6 is visible
4	825	42 0	65 × 50	III a	The Hare (Mark 6) is clear
5	870	41 0	66 × 63	III a	Clear Elephant and Hare
6	951	42 5	65 × 58	III a	Only the legs of the Hare show at the bottom right corner
7	909	41 25	80 × 46	III b	Unusually large Elephant
8	912	40 5	70 × 50	III b	The Tuskless Dumpy Elephant is stamped twice on this coin, one overstamp by Mark 6
9	941A	40 0	66 × 53	III c	Clear Shield (2a) The head only of the Hare on the right bottom edge of the coin
10	952	43·0	60 × 54	IV b	Large Tusked Elephant Only the lower part of the Bull (Mark 7) shows on the top right side of the coin
11	955	41 0	78 × 62	IV b	Lanky Type Elephant, and Lanky Bull
12	958	41 5	60 × 60	IV b	Thick Dumpy Bull

PLATE VI (*continued*)

No in Pl	Coin No	Wt.	Size	Class	Remarks
13	959	40 0	58× 55	IV b	Thick Dumpy Bull, which is of the same punch as on the preceding coin
14	970	42 0	70× 55	IV b	Thick Dumpy Bull, but of a different punch
15	973	38 0	78× 70	V b	This coin is interesting as it bears Mark 2a (Taurine in a Shield) and also Mark 2b (Large Taurene without Shield) which occurs on the Older Classes IX to XIII. It may possibly be that it was an older coin, of which the marks are worn off, which was re-struck
16	974	40 25	80× 65	V b	Mark 8 only partly shows on the left side of the coin. Lanky Type Elephant
17	975	40 5	75× 58	V b	Large Tusked Elephant. Clear Marks 1 and 8
18	977	41 5 1 8	80× 80	V b	The Elephants on this and the preceding two coins are all of the Lanky Type, but are all different
19	978	39 5	90× 80	V b	Lanky Elephant. Mark 8 has a dot in the centre of the circle
20	979	41 0	83× 70	{ V b and IX	Double Obverse Coin The later obverse of Class V has been restruck on the Reverse of an older coin of Class IX, the worn obverse of which is the "Reverse" of the later coin
21	982	41 25	80× 68	VI	<i>Reverse</i> Marks 1f, 51b, 36d, 163
22	983	40·75	80× 75	{ VI and IX	Double Obverse Coin The Obverse of Class VI has been restruck on the Reverse of an Older Coin of Class IX, the Obverse of which is on the "Reverse" of the later coin. The Hexagon and the Wheel

PLATE VI (*continued*)

No in Pl	Com No	Wt	Size	Class	Remarks
					of the older coin are clear, though the face has been over-stamped by several reverse marks during its later currency as Class VI The Bull is on the bottom right hand corner of the Class VI Obverse
23	984	42 25	93 × 82	{ VI and IX	Double Obverse Coin as the preceding The Lanky Bull and the other Marks are clear on the later Class VI Obverse
24	985	40 75	90 × 66	{ VI and IX	Double Obverse Coin as the preceding Clear Marks on the Later Obverse of Class VI Lanky Bull, but of a different punch
25	986	41 0	75 × 70	{ VII and IX	Double Obverse Coin An older coin of Class IX restruck later as Class VII Clear marks Palm Tree and Shield on the Class VII Obverse The Hexagon can be faintly traced on the older Obverse which has been over stamped by reverse marks during its later circulation as a coin of Class VII
26	987	42 0	80 × 62	VIII	The left hand part of Mark 8 The Tree is clear
27	988	40 25	72 × 63	VIII	The Tree is clear, of a different type from the preceding coin

PLATE VII

1	989	42 25	74 × 74	IX	The Wheel (Mark 12) is clear The horns of the Taurine (Mark 2b) are visible on the bottom right hand corner
2	992	41 5	80 × 70	IX	Mark 13 (Circle with Curved Rays) is on the left of the coin
3	990	40 5	90 × 50	IX	Worn coin The Wheel (Mark 12) is clear

PLATE VII (*continued*)

No in Pl	Coin No	Wt	Size	Class	Remarks
4	991	38 5	85 × 58	IX	The Wheel is clear, the Hexagon (Mark 11) is above it, Mark 1 is on the right hand edge, only part of the Taurine (Mark 2b) shows at the top of the coin
5	993	42 0	90 × 75	X	Mark 13 (Circle with Branched Rays) is clear at the left hand top of the coin <i>Reverse</i> Marks 1d, 4a, 8c, 11Ab, 56b
6	994	42 0	76 × 62	XI	Double Obverse Coin Note the large size of Mark 1 on the older classes of the coins Mark 13 is at the bottom left side of the coin There is a much worn Hexagon on the reverse, which has been over-stamped by the Reverse Marks This shows that the Reverse was previously the Obverse of one of the Classes IX to XIII which bear that Mark, probably Class IX <i>Reverse</i> Marks 1b, 83l, 93c
7	995	42 5	78 × 63	XI	A large-sized variety of Mark 13 along the top of the coin <i>Reverse</i> Marks 4e (variety), 7a
8	996	40 0	92 × 60	XI	Mark 13 is on the top left corner <i>Reverse</i> Marks 1f, 11Ab, 29a, 77d, 186
9	997	42 25	80 × 65	XI	Mark 13 is at the bottom of the coin <i>Reverse</i> Marks 1t, 11k, 14e, 15a, 125c, 185, and two other indistinct marks
10	998	41 25	90 × 52	XI	<i>Reverse</i> Marks 1f, 1q, 16a, 83d, 83h, 83l, and three other confused marks
11	999	41 5	76 × 62	XI	<i>Obverse</i> very much worn. A very old coin.

PLATE VII (*continued*)

No in Pl	Coin No	Wgt	Size	Class	Remarks
					<i>Reverse</i> 11Ab, 19c (variety), 192 (Three times)
12	1000	41 25	90× 62	XI	<i>Obverse</i> much worn A very old coin Mark 2b (Large Taurine not in Shield) is on the left top corner Mark 13 on left centre <i>Reverse</i> Marks 7b, 10aa, 64 and twelve other Marks too confused to identify
13	1001	42 0	58× 70	XI	<i>Reverse</i> Marks 1q, 1t, 2b, 92c and three other indistinct marks
14	1002	41 0	83× 75	XII	Note the larger size of Mark 1 (16 mm in diameter) on these older coins Much worn A very old coin <i>Reverse</i> Marks 1f, 3b, 19c, 32f and fifteen other marks, which are over stamped and too confused to identify.
15	1003	41 5	90× 70	XII	Much worn A very old coin Mark 13 at the top right hand much worn, only part being visible. <i>Reverse</i> Marks 1n, 9a (Twice, of different punches), 187, and at least seven other confused marks
16	1004	30 0	75× 62	XIII	A defective coin, part broken off Mark 13 (variety) is at the lower right hand corner The Taurine does not appear <i>Reverse</i> Marks 55, 73s and another indistinct one
17	812	41 5	72× 48	IIIa	<i>Reverse</i> Blank—Showing Raised Excrescences
18	817	40 0	70× 53	IIIa	<i>Reverse</i> Do
19	911	40 5	70× 50	IIIb	<i>Reverse.</i> Do
20	969	41 5	82× 38	IVc	<i>Reverse</i> Do

TABLE A—continued

Number of Reverse Marks	Plain	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 or more	Total Coins
<i>Class</i>												
Ia to Va Round	1				.							1
IIb to Vb Square	1				.							1
VI { Square					4							4
VI { Round	None											
VI and IX (Double Obverse coin)												3
Total												7
VII and IX (Round and Double Obverse coin)						5						5
VIII Square				2	.							2
IX { Square	1			2								3
IX { Round				1								1
IX and Vb (Double Obverse coin, Square)		.										2
IX and VI Square			.									4
IX and VII Round												1
Total												11
X Round						1						1

TABLE A—continued

Number of Reverse Marks	Plain	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 or more	Total Coins
<i>Class</i>												
XI { Square						1	1		1	1	2 (12 & 15)	6
Round								1				1
XI and IX to XII, (Double Obverse coin)				1								1
Total												8
XII { Square											1 (19 Mks)	1
Round											1 (14 Mks)	1
XIII Square				1								1

LIST OF THE PAILA COINS

CLASS Ia

OBSERVE MARKS

No Weight

Remarks

Mark No 1 Serpentine round a Central Boss, No
2 Taurine in a Shield, No 3a Elephant facing
to the right, No 4 Pentagram with and without
Dots in the Angles

PLAIN REVERSE

1 38.5 Pl V, 1
2 40.5
3 41.5 Pentagram with Dots
4 38.0 *Elephant over Pentagram* with Dots

CLASS 1a

PLAIN REVERSE

No	Wt		Remarks
5	40 5	Serpentine over Pentagram	<i>Elephant over Pentagram</i>
6	35 0	Clear Pentagram over Elephant, Serpentine	Elephant over
7	40 0	Clear	PI V, 2
8	37 5	Clear	
9	35 5	Clear	
10	40 0	Clear	
11	40 0	Clear	
12	41 0	Clear	
13	40 5	Clear	
14	41 75	Clear	PI V, 3
15	40 5	Clear	
16	40 5	Clear	
17	41 5	Pentagram with Dots	
18	39 5	Note the Raised Excrescences	PI V, 4
19		<i>Defective</i> Obverse partly flaked	
20	42 5		
21	43 0		
22	43 0		
23	42 5		
24	43 0		
25	42 0		
26	42 0		
27	42 0		
28 to 71		(weights not given here)	

ONE REVERSE MARK

No	Mark	
72	1f	
73	9b	
74	11c	
75	11A	
76	17a	
77	19c	
78	28a	
79	95v	
80	100	
81	183	Part of mark only is visible
82	103a	

CLASS Ia

ONE REVERSE MARK

No	Mark	Remarks
83	1d	
84	×	Indistinct,
85	1a	
86	1c	
87	1d	
88	1d	
89	1e	
90	1f	
91	4a	
92	5	Pentagram with Dots.
93	6b	
94	7c	
95	6c	
96	8d	
97	11d	
98	13b	
99	14b	Pentagram with Dots.
100	15a	
101	16a	
102	17a	
103	19a	Pentagram with Dots.
104	21a	
105	21c	
106	22c	
107	22b	
108	24e	
109	25a	Pentagram with Dots
110	25a	
111	26b	Pentagram with Dots.
112	28a	
113	28b	
114	28c	
115	46	
116	51d	
117	67	
118		Raised Excrescence.
119	98c	
120	1a	
121	1a	
122	1c	

CLASS Ia.

ONE REVERSE MARK:

No.	Mark	Remarks
123	29c	
124	×	Clear Dumpy Elephant.
125	×	
126	×	
127	×	Incomplete.
128	×	Pentagram with Dots
129 } to } 135 }	×	Pentagram Plain.
136	×	
137	7c	Pentagram with Dots.

TWO REVERSE MARKS.

138	1b	1b	Different Dies.
139	79	×	
140	1d	2b	
	(Var)		
141	1i	×	
142	1e	×	
143	11a	109	
144	1a	×	
145	28a	32c	
146	1e	29c	
147	1b	1g	
148	17c	31	
149	51c	54	
150	80	×	
151	6a	104b	Pentagram with Dots.
152	97b	×	Pentagram with Dots.
153	29c	104a	
154	5A	×	
155	5A	9c	
156	10a	11h	
157	1f	4a	
158	25a	110	
159	14f	51c	
160	1e	7a	
161	1a(small)	×	The Elephant is Tuskless. Pl. V, 5.
162	×	×	

CLASS Ia.

TWO REVERSE MARKS.

No.	..Marks..	Remarks
163	111 111	(Twice). Different dies.
164	× ×	
165	× ×	
166	1h ×	
167	21d ×	

THREE REVERSE MARKS.

168	1a	32c	77d	
169	7c	11e	29d	
170	7a	×	×	
171	1b	21e	×	
172	14c	89a	×	
173	1a(small)	×	×	
174	1d	19b	×	
175	1e	38b	×	
176	2b(small)	21e	77e	
177	3b	43a	30	Elephant over Pentagram.
178	25a	32b	×	
179	29a	81	×	
180	1a	1k	7a	

FOUR REVERSE MARKS.

181	2b	14d	6b	×	Pentagram with Dots.
182	1a	1b	14f	×	Do.
183	7e	7e(diff.)	19b	×	
184	1f	11b	25c	15a	1f is only 3 mm.
185	38e	89a	×	×	
186	1a(large)	6b	38b	77d	
187	29a	83b	×	×	
188	7a	14e	18	×	Pentagram with Dots.
189	1c	4b	24a	×	
190	1b	1h	112	×	
191	1b	21a	113	×	
192	1a	1f	1k	11b	
193	11b	116	×	×	
194	1a	×	×	×	
195	1a	×	×	×	

FIVE REVERSE MARKS (None)

CLASS Ia.

SIX REVERSE MARKS.

No.	.....	Marks.....	Remarks
196	1d(?)	21e 114 X X	
197	Defective.	Reverse Flaked.	No Mark.
198	Do.	Do.	Do.
199	Do.	Do.	Do.
200	Do.	Do.	1 Reverse Mark=29c.
201	Do.	Coin Broken	1 Reverse Mark=X

CLASS Ia. ROUND

PLAIN REVERSE.

No.	Weight.	Size.	
202	42·2	·75×·60	Clear.
203	40·5	·74×·63	"
204	39·0	·70×·60	"
205	41·5	·65×·65	"
206	42·5	·70×·65	"
207	42·0	·70×·65	"
208	38·5	·65×·62	"
209	40·5	·70×·68	"
210	37·5	·70×·70	"
211	36·5	·80×·65	A thinner coin and worn.

ONE REVERSE MARK.

212	50b	Clear Tuskless Elephant. Pentagram with Dots. Pl. V, 6.			
213	26c	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
214	115				
215	1b				
216	1c				
217	13b				
218	35a				
219	78				
220	1a				
221	11g				

TWO REVERSE MARKS.

222	14d	X	Tuskless Elephant. Pl. V. 7.
223	14e	29a	
224	1f	51a	
225	3a	X	
226	X	X	

CLASS Ia ROUND

THREE REVERSE MARKS.

No.	....Marks....			Remarks
227	16b	38a	×	
228	1a	1f	9d	
229	7a	9d	×	
230	1a	6b	×	
231	73g	83d	×	

FOUR REVERSE MARKS.

232	11a	38a	×	×
233	16a	19c	×	×
234	24d	×	×	×

DEFECTIVE.

235 Reverse Flaked. No Mark.

CLASS Ib

OBVERSE MARKS.

The Obverse Marks are the same as Class Ia, but the Elephant (Mark 3b) faces to the left.

PLAIN REVERSE.

No.	Wt.	Remarks	
236	42.0	Pentagram Plain	
237	45.0	,,	
238	42.0	,,	
239	42.0	,,	
240	42.5	,,	
241	}	—	,,
to			
262	}	—	,,
263			
to	}	—	,,
281			
282	41.25	,,	Pl. V, 8.
283	—	,,	
284	—	Defective coin. The Serpentine is flaked off.	
284A	—	Pentagram with Dots.	

CLASS Ib
ONE REVERSE MARK.

No.	Mark	Remarks
285	×	Pentagram with Dots. Pl. V, 9.
286	1a	" " Pl. V, 10.
287	11b	" " Pl. V, 11.
	(small)	
288	1b	
	(var.)	" "
289	1c	" "
290	13a	" "
291	7a	" "
292	12	" "
293	21a	" "
294	28b	" "
295	19c	" "
296	×	" "
297	×	" "
298	11b	The Serpentine is stamped over Pentagram with
	(small)	Dots.
299	1a	Pentagram with Dots.
300	1b	" "
	(var.)	
301	1e	Pentagram Plain
302	1h	Clear mark.
303	11a	
304	11b	
305	25b	
306	47	
307	77d	
308	95a	
309	×	
310	57	
311	7a	
312	1f	
313	77f	
314	×	<i>Note. Raised excrescences.</i>
315	1b	
316	×	
317	1b	
318	1b	
318A	1a	
318B	28b	
318C	143	

CLASS Ib

TWO REVERSE MARKS.

No.	..Marks..		Remarks
319	×	×	Pentagram with Dots
320	19b	83c	" " "
	(small)		
321	1e	40a	" " "
322	6a	8a	" " "
323	1b	11e	" " "
324	1a	×	" " "
	(small)		
325	73c	102h	" " "
326	19d	97b	" " "
327	1f	7c	" " "
328	1a	71	Pentagram Plain.
329	1a	67	
330	1c	1f	
331	1c	14b	
332	1i	40	
333	1i	×	
334	1i	28a	
	(small)		
335	5A	51c	
336	7b	70	
337	7c	29c	
338	8f	11f	
339	11b	88a	
340	11b	×	
341	14e	38a	
342	15a	×	Incomplete.
	(var.)		
343	29a	×	
344	17a	42a	
345	17c	72	
346	19a	1b	
347	36a	108	
348	51c	×	
349	14e	17c	
	(small)		
350	×	×	
351	35a	51c	Note the raised excrescences on the Reverse. Pl. V, 12.

CLASS Ic

THREE REVERSE MARKS.

No.	....Marks....			Remarks
352	21a	×	×	Pentagram with Dots.
353	1e	11i	×	„ „ „
354	19c	117	×	„ „ „
355	15c	77g	×	„ „ „
356	11b	×	×	„ „ „
357	1k	118	×	„ „ „
358	13c	×	×	„ „ „
359	1b	×	×	„ „ „
	(small)			
360	29c	×	×	„ „ „
361	1b	119	×	„ „ „
362	29c	×	×	„ „ „
363	77b	125b	×	Pentagram Plain. Pl. V, 13.
			(Incuse.)	
364	11f	51c	×	
365	40a	98g	120	
366	1b	111b	51a	Pl. V, 14.
367	19b	121	122	
368	1b	14e	×	
369	9e	77d	123	
370	1f	×	×	
371	83d	73hh	73g	
372	6b	73k	83d	
373	1f	11e	25a	
374	11e	93b	×	
375	1f	114	×	
376	11b	16b	×	
377	21c	×	×	
378	17c	95d	×	
379	1d	51c	×	
380	1f	5A	28b	
	(small)			
381	1i	1k	125b	
	(var.)			
382	1b	1i	83b	

CLASS Ib

FOUR REVERSE MARKS:

No.	....Marks....			Remarks			
383	1e	14c	19b	38a	Pentagram with Dots.		
	(small)						
384	1b	1f	10b	19b	”	”	”
	(small) (small)						
385	1b	29c	38b	×	”	”	”
386	1b	1k	11d	×	”	”	”
387	1h	1k	17d	×	”	”	”
388	11e	39b	124	×	”	”	”
389	51c	77d	126	×	”	”	”
390	1b	×	×	×	Pentagram Plain.		
391	1k	14e	73l	×			
392	21c	51c	127	×			

FIVE REVERSE MARKS:

393	1b	11f	15b	×	×	Pentagram with Dots.		
394	1i	33	51a	125b	×	”	”	”
	(var.)							
395	1a	1f	11b	124	×	”	”	”
396	1a	1b	1d	77f	×	”	”	”
	(small.)							
397	1a	1b	19b	×	×	”	”	”
398	1a	1f	11b	21a	32a	Pentagram Plain.		
	(Large)							
399	24f	×	×	×	×	Incomplete marks.		
400	1a	7e	77b	×	×			
401	1l	1l	91a	×	×			
	(twice) (small)							
402	38b	119	125	188	×			

SIX REVERSE MARKS.

403	1b	19b	27a	8e	82c	×	Pentagram with Dots.
404	1a	29c	×	×	×	×	
405	84	14d	25e	125b	×	×	"

DEFECTIVE.

406	NO MARKS.				Reverse flaked.		
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CLASS Ib ROUND

PLAIN REVERSE:

No.	Wt.	Remarks
407	41·0	Pentagram with Dots.
408	43·0	„ „ „
409	42·5	„ „ „
410	42·0	Pentagram Plain.
411	42·5	
412	39·5	
413	32·0	
414	42·5	
415	41·0	
416	40·5	
417	—	Defective coin; Flaked.

ONE REVERSE MARK:

No.	Mark	Remarks
418	102a	Pentagram with Dots.
419	16b	„ „ „
420	29c	Pentagram Plain.
421	×	
422	×	
423	1a	
424	11b	
425	83c	
426	×	
427	×	

TWO REVERSE MARKS.

428	14f	94b	
429	2a	6a	<i>Pentagram is stamped twice on the coin.</i> Pl. V, 15.
430	129	×	Pentagram with Dots.
431	19b	51c	Pentagram Plain.
432	27b	29a	
433	77f	19e	
433A	32d	34a	

CLASS Ib ROUND.

THREE REVERSE MARKS.

No.	....Marks....			Remarks
434	×	×	×	(Elephant Type 13); No Cast.
435	1a	1a	×	
		(var.)		
436	1a	25a	×	
437	1d	11b	21e	
438	1d	16b	28b	
439	1a	38d	77b	Pentagram with Dots.
440	1e	1k	×	„ „ „
441	9a	17b	105	„ „ „
442	13b	23c	77f	„ „ „
443	128	×	×	„ „ „

FOUR REVERSE MARKS.

444	51c	×	×	×	
445	1a	35a	38a	×	
446	1a	8d	15b	98d	
447	11a	73c	×	×	Pentagram with Dots.
448	11e	93b	×	×	„ „ „

FIVE REVERSE MARKS.

449	1f	15b	19a	21a	×	
450	1a	7e	21f	89b	×	
451	1b	15a	23d	125b	×	
452	14d	15b	19b	83f	×	Pentagram with Dots.

SEVEN REVERSE MARKS.

453	1f (large)	6a	14e	19e	21b	×	×	Pentagram with Dots.
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CLASS Ic

OBVERSE MARKS

The Obverse Marks are the same as Class Ia, or Class Ib, but the direction of the Elephant cannot be determined.

CLASS I_c

PLAIN REVERSE.

No.	Marks	Remarks
454		
455		Pentagram with Dots.
456		" " "
457		" " "

ONE REVERSE MARK.

458	1f	Pentagram with Dots.
459	×	

TWO REVERSE MARKS.

460	1a	29c
461	1k	11b

THREE REVERSE MARKS.

462	1b	11a	38a	Pentagram with Dots.
463	1e	22d	×	

CLASS I_c ROUND.

ONE REVERSE MARK;

464	×
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TWO REVERSE MARKS

465	1d	83Aa	The Obverse is flaked off. Only Serpentine and Pentagram are visible. Coin defective.
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CLASS II_a

OBVERSE MARKS.

No. 1. Serpentine round a central Boss; No. 2. Taurine in a Shield; No. 3a. Elephant facing to the right; No. 5 Circle [Sun] and Crescent, with two arrows pointing outwards between them.

CLASS IIa.

PLAIN REVERSE:

No.	Wt.	Remarks
466	42.5	
467	41.0	
468	41.5	
469	40.5	
470	42.5	
471	41.5	
472	42.0	
473	41.5	PL V, 16.
474	39.5	
475	41.5	
476	41.5	
476A	41.75	Clear coin. Elephant with two dots over stamped.

ONE REVERSE MARK.

No.	Wt.	Mark	Remarks
477	41.0	9b	Elephant with two dots. The die of the Elephant on this coin and the preceding one are different.
478	42.0	1b	
479	43.5	68b	
480	42.0	1f	
481	41.5	7e	
482	42.0	11b	
483	40.5	11e	} Different Dies.
484	40.0	11e	
485	42.0	23b	
486	41.0	27a	
487	41.5	29a	
488	39.0	77d	
489	35.0	119	(Portion)
490	42.5	130	
491	44.5	×	
491A	40.5	×	

TWO REVERSE MARKS.

492	41.0	11	×
493	39.0	83f	×
494	41.5	94h	98h

CLASS IIa

TWO REVERSE MARKS.

No.	Wt.	..Marks..	Remarks
495	42.0	24a ×	
496	40.5	1c 27a	
497	41.5	9b ×	Pl. V, 17.
498	41.5	1b 189	
499	41.5	1i 14d	
500	42.0	45a 83f (var.)	
501	43.0	× ×	Pl. V, 18.
501A	36.5	× ×	

THREE REVERSE MARKS.

502	1a	36b	41	
503	1a	16c	77a	
504	1b	11b	44c	
505	1f	11b	132	
506	1b	134	×	1b is clear.
507	14c	27a	×	
508	19b	133	×	
509	32c	×	×	
510	1f	51c	126	
511	77d	131	×	
512	77d	×	×	Incomplete Mark.

FOUR REVERSE MARKS.

513	5A	15b	15b	×
			(Var.)	
514	15b	×	×	×
515	25a	73a	82b	99c
516	17e	83b	×	×
		(var.)		Pl. V, 19.
517	1a	1f	15a	×
				Elephant with 3 dots above it.
				Serpentine stamped over the
				Elephant.
518	11b	11b	29a	83Ab
	(large)			Elephant with 3 dots over < 5 >
				(Mark 5) and Shield over
				Mark 5.
				Reverse. Pl. V, 20.
519	1a	1a	16a	81
		(diff.)		

CLASS IIa

FOUR REVERSE MARKS.

No.	Marks.....				Remarks
520	1a	×	×	×	
	(small)				
521	1a	1h	19b	×	
522	1h	22a	38f	37	
523	4b	15b	77a	89b	
524	15b	21b	×	×	
525	28b	77f	×	×	
526	73h	90	×	×	
527	7c	45b	83d	136	
	(small)				

FIVE REVERSE MARKS.

528	7e	15b	29c	×	×	
529	1b	29b	29c	×	×	
530	7a	17d	16c	29e	×	Only the back of the Elephant shows over-stamping. The Shield is stamped twice. Wt. 40.5. Pl. V, 21.
531	24c	28b	38a	135	×	
532	2c	7c	11a	×	×	
533	1a over	11e	51c	73c	×	
534	6a	17a over	40a			
535	1a	1k	11b	×	×	
		(small)				
536	1e	28b	13d	×	×	

SIX REVERSE MARKS.

537	1a	44c	137	99b	×	×	
538	14e	13c	82d	95a	×	×	Pl. V, 22.
	(Var.)						
539	1m	2a	4c	27c	11b	×	
540	1a	1f	73m	20	×	×	
	(small)						
541	1n	11aa	44d	×	×	×	
542	38b	×	×	×	×	×	
543	1a	1f	8a	11e	103a	95e	
544	21c	38a	51d	138	×	×	
545	5A	11c	28a	125b	×	×	

CLASS IIa

SEVEN REVERSE MARKS.

No.	Marks.....						
546	1l	1m	11A	16c	51a	×	×
547	1k	32f	190	×	×	×	×

EIGHT REVERSE MARKS.

548	1a	1e	1m	1n	×	×	×	×
							Reverse.	Pl. V, 23.
549	7a	16b	19d	51c	51e	99d	×	×
					(diff.)			
550	1c	1f	9a	79	×	×	×	×

NINE REVERSE MARKS.

551	1f	11b	×	×	×	×	×	×
		(large)					Marks confused.	

CLASS IIa ROUND.

PLAIN REVERSE.

552	Clear coin.	Weight 41·5
553	Clear coin.	Weight 43·5
554		Weight 41·5
555		Weight 39·0

ONE REVERSE MARK.

556	4a
557	×

TWO REVERSE MARKS.

558	1a	1c
559	1f	73c
560	7c	40a
561	139	140
562	91	×

THREE REVERSE MARKS.

563	1c	25a	×
564	1a	1h	9f
		(var.)	
565	51c	×	×

CLASS IIa ROUND

FOUR REVERSE MARKS.

No.	Marks.....					Remarks
566	11b	141	35a	×		

FIVE REVERSE MARKS.

567	1a	1f	24a	73n	142a	Pl. V, 24.
568	1k	7c	11b	×	×	
569	1f	11b	16a	×	×	1 f is clear.
	(Large)	(Minute).				
570	11b	15a	×	×	×	

SIX REVERSE MARKS.

No.	Wt.						
571	—	1f	9g	11k	7a	51e	×

SEVEN REVERSE MARKS.

571A	—	1a	1a	1f	11b	9c	77a	×
		(var.)						

CLASS IIb

OBVERSE MARKS.

The Obverse Marks are the same as Class IIa, except that the Elephant (Mark 3b) faces to the left.

PLAIN REVERSE.

572	43.5		
573-576	—		
577	42.0		
578	41.5		
579	40.5		
580	40.5		
581	40.5		
582	39.0		
583	38.0	<ॐ>	mark clear. Pl. V, 25.
584	41.5	,,	Pl. V, 26.
585	42.5		

CLASS IIb

ONE REVERSE MARK:

No.	Wt.	Marks	Remarks
586	42.5	1e	
587	42.5	1f	
588	44.0	9h	
589	41.0	×	Pl. V, 27.
590	41.0	145	
591	37.0	1a	
592	39.5	×	Incomplete.
593	41.5	×	
594	42.0	1a	
595	42.0	×	
596	41.5	11b	
597	41.0	146b	

TWO REVERSE MARKS.

598	42.0	1a	×	
599	42.0	1f	×	
600	41.5	1k	14f	The two 1k marks are from different dies.
601	41.0	1k	27a	
602	40.5	11b	×	Incomplete.
		(large)		
603	39.0	15b	144	(144 is clear)
604	42.0	15a	68a	(68a is clear)
605	41.0	8e	62	(62 is clear) Pl. V, 28.
606	42.0	1f	44a	Pl. V, 29.
607	40.5	29e	148	(29e is clear)
608	39.5	83f	×	Incomplete.
609	39.5	147	×	
610	42.0	77c	99a	For Mark 5, see No. 622.
611	41.0	31	×	(31 is clear).

THREE REVERSE MARKS.

612	41.0	1a	1d	14g	Clear Reverse Marks.
613	42.0	1bb	6a	66	
614	41.0	1a	4a	83d	
615	41.5	1a	29a	32e	
616	41.0	59	146a	×	
617	40.5	149	×	×	

CLASS IIb

THREE REVERSE MARKS.

No.	Wt.	...Marks...			Remarks
618	41.0	1a	1a	11b	
			(diff.)		
619	40	26c	73m	91b	
			(diff.)		
620	42.5	11b	33	×	
621	41.5	1a	29a	77d	= Incomplete.
622	42.5	15a	×	×	
623	40.5	68a	×	×	
624	40.0	1e	27a	27a	27a is punched twice.

FOUR REVERSE MARKS.

No.	.....Marks.....				Remarks
625	—1f	36c	×	×	
626	—	32c	40b	×	×
627	—	1a	9i	51f	107
628	—	1h	43a	150	×
629	1a	×	×	×	(Elephant Type 11). No cast.
630	11b	15a	15c	×	
631	14e	16a	11i	7/d	
632	1e	19b	89a	×	
633	1a	9a	9d	137	
634	11f	51c	73k	×	
635	×	×	×	×	
636	1a	1b	25d	×	

FIVE REVERSE MARKS.

637	11b	152	153	154	×	Clear Reverse Marks. Pl. V, 30.
638	1a	1b	11b	21c	×	
639	1a	1a	9a	×	×	
		(diff.)				
640	1a	×	×	×	×	
	(small)					
641	1h	×	×	×	×	Pl. V, 31.
642	1a	155	156	×	×	Note. Serpentine is stamped over Elephant, and Shield over Serpentine. There are 2 Shields. Pl. V, 32.

CLASS IIb

FIVE REVERSE MARKS.

No.	Marks.....					Remarks
643	1b	1h	1l	20	22a	
644	1bb	15a	33	15l	×	
			(minute)			
645	1f	1le	68c	1n	×	
	(clear)					
646	1a	1h	7a	11e	142b	Clear Reverse Marks.
647	1a	1a	1c	26c	×	
		(diff.)	(large)			
648	28b	157	158	×	×	
649	4d	11e	29c	28d	159	
650	1f	2e	×	×	×	

SIX REVERSE MARKS.

651	1e	1k	13b	29a	×	×	
652	7a	11b	17a	97c	162	×	Clear Reverse Marks.
	(Minute.)					(Inc.)	
653	li	1p	3c	7a	142b	161	
	(var.)			(var.)			
654	1a	1l	10d	×	×	×	
		(var.)					
655	28a	43a	73c	51c	160a	×	Clear Reverse Marks.
656	11b	73c	×	×	×	×	
657	1b	65b	163	×	×	×	
658	43b	×	166	×	×	×	Overstamped and confused, but different from the Reverse Marks of Class I.
659	1a	29a	83d	36a	36b	×	
660	1b	11a	×	×	×	×	
661	1a	164	×	×	×	×	
662	11e	17a	165	×	×	×	
663	97a	11b	11Aa	73o	×	×	
664	1k	28a	42a	×	×	×	
665	1a	9a	11k	×	×	×	
666	29a	32a	75	142b	×	×	

CLASS IIb

EIGHT REVERSE MARKS.

No.	Marks.....							
667	1a	16a	7a	×	×	×	×	×
	(sm. in centre). The remaining marks are over stamped and confused.							
668	1q	15b	34a	77h	×	×	×	×
	Pl. V, 33.							
669	1f	7k	1k	li	×	×	×	×
	The two 1k marks are from different dies ; li is small ; 6th mark is incomplete.							
670	1a	1l	11l	89c	167	×	×	×
	Pl. V, 34.							
671	The marks are over stamped and confused.							
672	1a	1k	168	Confused marks.				

CLASS IIb ROUND

No.	Wt.	PLAIN REVERSE.
673	43·5	
674	42·5	
675	42·0	
676	41·0	
677	40·0	

CLASS IIb

ONE REVERSE MARK.

678	41·0	1a
679	42·5	11e
680	40·5	44a
681	40·5	98i

TWO REVERSE MARKS.

682	40·5	5A	5A (Small).	These are the same die.				
683	42·0	1f	11b					

THREE REVERSE MARKS.

684	40·5	1h	73b	13c
685	45·5	a	29e	169
				(small)
686	41·5	11b	98l	170

CLASS IIb

FOUR REVERSE MARKS.

No.	Wt.	Marks.....			
687	40·5	1d	4a	×	×
		(var.)			
688	39·5	43b	51c	×	×
689	38·5	1f	73b	×	×
690	42·5	4d	16b	98h	171
		(small)			

FIVE REVERSE MARKS.

691	43·5	4b	95a	26d	160b	×
692	42·0	77a	111	×	×	×
		(small)				

SIX REVERSE MARKS.

693	40·5	1e	13f	73c	77d	×	×
694	39·5	1h	7a	16a	21a	23b	×

SEVEN REVERSE MARKS.

695	40·5	1d	11b	29b	83d	77i	×	×
696	40·0	1a*	1a*	11b	29a	×	×	×
697	41·0	1e	11i	77c	73p	44a	×	×
698	41·0	1a	11b	16b	98c	×	×	×
		(small)						

*Marks identical but dies different.

CLASS IIc

OBSERVE MARKS.

The Obverse Marks are the same as Class IIa, or Class IIb, but the direction of the Elephant cannot be determined.

PLAIN REVERSE.

No.	Wt.
699	43·0
700	42·0
701	41·5
702	41·0

CLASS IIc

ONE REVERSE MARK.

No.	Wt.	Marks	Remarks
703	40.5	1b	
704	42.0	1c	
705	41.0	1f	
706	42.5	9e	
707	41.0	9h	
708	41.0	29a	
709	42.0	103a	<i>Clear Reverse Mark.</i>
710	41.0	×	

TWO REVERSE MARKS.

711	42.5	1a	14d
712	42.5	1a	×
713	40.5	1a	11b
714	42.5	8a	94c
715	36.5	19e	21e

THREE REVERSE MARKS.

716	41.0	1a	77d	172	
717	41.0	1a	1n	×	
718	41.0	1b	×	×	Elephant Indistinct, but is not Class VIII.
719	40.5	7b	11e	×	
720	41.5	81	×	×	
		(small)			

FOUR REVERSE MARKS.

721	41.0	2b	32a	83h	73q	Pl. VI, 1.
722	42.0	1a	1a	44b	×	
			(smaller)			
723	42.0	1f	11b	×	×	
724	40.5	61b	174	×	×	
725	41.0	73r	174	×	×	
726	40.0	1f	11b	29c	98d	
		(Sm.)	(Sm.)			
727	42.0	1e	6b	83d	×	

CLASS IIc

FIVE REVERSE MARKS

No.	.....	Marks.....	Remarks
728	—	1l 1s 11b 11Aa 175	
729	—	1a 1a *1f *1f (smaller)	*Different dies.

SIX REVERSE MARKS.

730	—	7c 11i 67b	×	×	×
		(small)			
731	—	15b 19b 11e 176 177	×		
732	—	1b 51c	×	×	×
733	—	6a 16a 22e	×	×	×

SEVEN REVERSE MARKS.

734	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	All confused.
735	1a	1f 1n 35b 51c	×	×	×	×	×	Marks uncertain.
736	1f	1f 7a 77e	×	×	×	×	×	
		(diff. dies)						

NINE REVERSE MARKS.

737	15b	9g	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
									Confused Marks.

CLASS IIc ROUND.

FOUR REVERSE MARKS.

738	1h	39a	×	×	Defective Coin.	Broken.
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FIVE REVERSE MARKS.

739	1h	1l 7a 11e 24a	Clear Reverse Marks.
			Pl. VI, 2.
740	1e	11k 21a 29a	×
741	1f	11e	×
742	6a	77k	×

SIX REVERSE MARKS.

743	1a	42b 77b 98d	×	×
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CLASS IIc ROUND

EIGHT REVERSE MARKS.

No.Marks.....							
744	1a	1k	14b	125b	77c	×	×	×

CLASS IIIa

OBVERSE MARKS.

1. Three Serpentine round a Central Boss ;
2. Taurine in Shield; 3a Elephant facing to Right ;
6. Sitting Hare.

PLAIN REVERSE.

No.	Wt.	
745	44·5	
746	43·0	
747	43 0	
748	43·0	
749	} 42·5	
to		
754		
755-760	42·0	
761-765	41·5	
766-770	41·5	
771-775	41·0	
776-779	41·0	
780-783	40·5	
784-787	40·5	
788-792	39·5	
793-797	39·0	
798	36·0	
799	42·0	
800	40·0	
801	40·0	
802	41·5	
803	42·0	
804	43·5	Raised Protuberances on the Reverse.
805	42·0	
806	41·5	
807	42·5	
808	41·0	
809	40·5	

CLASS IIIa

PLAIN REVERSE.

No.	Wt.	Remarks
810	41·0	
811	41·0	
812	41·5	Raised Protuberances on the Reverse. Pl. VII, 17 (Reverse).
813	41·0	Clear Mark 3. The Hare.
814	41·0	<i>All Four Obverse Marks are clear.</i>
815	43·0	<i>Serpentine over Hare.</i>
816	39·5	Pl. VI, 3.
817	40·0	Note the protuberances on the reverse. Pl. VII, 18 (Reverse).
818	40·6	Raised Protuberances on the reverse.
819	42·0	
820	40·5	

Coins Nos. 949-50 also belong to this class.

ONE REVERSE MARK.

821	..	1a	
822	..	1b	
823	..	1b	
824	..	1e	
825	42·0	14c	The Hare (Mark No. 6) is clear. Pl. VI, 4.
826	..	16b	
827	..	25a	
828-830	..	28a	On all the three coins.
831	..	28b	
832	..	28b	
833	42·75	29c	
834	42·0	29c	
835	41·5	29c	
836	41·25	29c	
837	41·25	29c	
839-844	40·5	29c	
845	..	82e	
846	..	122	Raised Protuberances on the Reverse.
847	..	178	
849	..	×	Incomplete.
850	..	×	
851	..	×	

See also coin No. 951 which belongs to this class.

CLASS IIIa

TWO REVERSE MARKS.

No.	Wt.	Size.	Marks		Remarks
852	1a	25a	
853	1a	180	
854	1d	25a	
855	11A	51c	
856	28a	11b	(Incomplete Mark.)
857	73g	99c	

DEFECTIVE.

858	..	..	Broken coin. No Reverse Marks on the preserved portion.		
859	..	..	The Reverse Marks are flaked off.		

CLASS IIIa ROUND.

PLAIN REVERSE.

860	39·5	·65×·65		
861	41·5	·68×·58		
862	39·5	·68×·64		
863	42·5	·70×·56		
864	44·0	·60×·58		
865	42·0	·67×·60		
866	42·0	·70×·63		
867	41·0	·76×·65		
868	44·5	·68×·60	Serpentines over Elephant and Shield over Serpentine.	
869	43·0	·68×·68		
870	41·0	·70×·65	The Hare is clear. Pl. VI, 5.	

ONE REVERSE MARK.

871	37·5	..	28b
872	43·0	..	40c
873	43·5	..	82e

TWO REVERSE MARKS.

874	41·5	1a	×
875	42·0	1a	×

CLASS IIIb

OBVERSE MARKS.

No. 1. Serpentine round a Boss ; No. 2, Taurine in a Shield ; No. 3b. Elephant facing to the left; No. 6. A Hare sitting.

PLAIN REVERSE.

No.	Wt.	Remarks
876	43·5	
877-879	43·0	
879-884	42·5	
885-887	42·0	
888-892	41·5	
893	41·0	
894	41·0	
895	40·5	
896	40·5	
897	40·0	
898	39·5	
899	39·0	
900	42·5	There are Raised Protuberances on the Reverse of coins 900 to 911.
901	42·0	
902	42·0	
903	39·5	
904	39·0	
905	39·0	
906	38·5	
907	41·0	
908	40·5	
909	41·25	Unusually large Elephant to r. Pl. VI, 7.
910	41·5	
911	40·5	Pl. VII, 19.
912	40·5	Obverse Mark 3a Tuskless Elephant facing to left twice and 3b (Elephant facing to left). Pl. VI, 9.

ONE REVERSE MARK.

913	..	7a
914	..	28a
915	..	51c
916	..	×

CLASS IIIb

TWO REVERSE MARKS.

No.	Wt.	Marks	Remarks
917	..	16b	×
918	..	99c	×

CLASS IIIb ROUND.

PLAIN REVERSE.

919	41·5
920	43·0
921	44·5
922	43·0
923	41·5
924	41·5
925	41·5
926	42·5
927	42·5

ONE REVERSE MARK.

928	41·5	28a
929	40·5	106

CLASS IIIc

OVERSE MARKS.

1. Serpentine round a Central Boss; 2a. Taurine in a Shield. 3. Elephant; the direction uncertain. 6. Hare sitting.

PLAIN REVERSE.

930-937	..	
938		Raised Protuberances.
939	..	Elephant not on the Coin.
940	..	Elephant not on the Coin.
941	..	Elephant not on the Coin.
941A	..	Pl. VI, 9.

ONE REVERSE MARK.

942	..	1b
943	..	51c
944	..	77e

CLASS IIIc

THREE REVERSE MARKS.

No.	Wt.	Marks	Remarks
945	..	28a 173	×

CLASS IIIc ROUND.

PLAIN REVERSE.

946	..
to	
948	..

CLASS IIIa (Supplementary list).

PLAIN REVERSE.

949-950	..
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ONE REVERSE MARK.

951	42·5	182	Pl. VI, 6.
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CLASS IVa

There are no coins of Class IV on which the Elephant faces to the right.

CLASS IVb

OBVERSE MARKS.

1. Serpentine round a Central Boss ; 2. Taurine in a Shield ; 3b. Elephant facing to the left ; 7. Humped Bull, facing to the left.

PLAIN REVERSE.

952	43·0		
953	43·0		
954	40·0		
955	41·0	17a	Pl. VI, 11.
956	42·0	29c	
957	42·0	×	and Raised Protuberances.

CLASS 4b

TWO REVERSE MARKS.

No. Wt.Marks.....

958 41.50 4d 183 Pl. VI, 12.

THREE REVERSE MARKS.

959 40.0 1a 29c × Pl. VI, 13.

FOUR REVERSE MARKS.

960 42.0 1a 1n 15b ×

961 42.0 1e 1k 21c ×

962 42.25 1i 11b 24f 181

963 41.5 13b 15b 29a ×

(var.)

FIVE REVERSE MARKS.

964 39.0 117 × × × ×

CLASS IVb. ROUND.

PLAIN REVERSE.

965 42.25

966 42.0

ONE REVERSE MARK.

967 37.25 1a Defective coin ; has been clipped on one side.

THREE REVERSE MARKS.

968 42.25 4e 77d × Note the Flower Mark.

CLASS IVc

PLAIN REVERSE.

969 41.5 Note Flower Markings. Pl. VII, 20.

CLASS IVc

FIVE REVERSE MARKS.

No.	Wt.	.....Marks.....	Remarks
970	42·0	1a (Partly on) 11e 51c 83d 103c × Pl. VI, 14. Elephant stamped over other Marks.	

CLASS Va. (NONE)

There are no coins of Class V on which the Elephant faces to the right.

CLASS Vb

OBSERVE MARKS.

1. Serpentine round a Central Boss; 2a. Taurine in a Shield; 3b. Elephant, facing to the left; 8. Sun and Crescent Moon.

TWO REVERSE MARKS.

971	41·0	1d 17e (Var.)	Clear Reverse Marks.
972	41·0	49 ×	

FOUR REVERSE MARKS.

973	38·0	21g × × ×	Shield is stamped twice: once over an older mark of the Plain Taurine. This therefore appears to be a restamped Double-Obverse Coin , the other Obverse Marks of the Older Obverse being worn off. Pl. VI, 15.
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FIVE REVERSE MARKS.

974	40·25	11b 16a 51b × ×	Pl. VI, 16.
975	40 5	5A 27a × × ×	Pl. VI, 17.

CLASS Vb

EIGHT REVERSE MARKS

No.	Wt.	Marks.....						Remarks		
976	40·75	5A	7e	11e	14g	19b	×	×	×	
		(large)								

(large)

Last three marks are clear but incomplete ; they are overstamped.

TEN REVERSE MARKS.

977	41·5	1t	11e	77c	Others are incomplete or confused Marks. Pl. VI, 18.					
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MANY REVERSE MARKS.

978	39·5	Only 11e can be clearly identified. The other Marks are completely mixed up with one another. But there appear to be some marks distinctive to this class of coins. Pl. VI, 19.								
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A DOUBLE-OBVERSE COIN.

979	41·0	{	<i>Obv.</i> : Obv. of Vb ; see Pl. VI, 20, obv.							
			<i>Rev.</i> : Obv. of class IX ; Pl. VI, 20 older obv.							

CLASSES I to V.

980	42·5	Round. Elephant to Right. Classes Ia—Va. Marks 1, 2, 3 are clear. Fourth mark is on the margin only and cannot be recognized.								
981	40·5	Square. Elephant to left. Classes IIb to Vb. The Fourth mark only just shows on the edge of the coin. But from the size of the incuse, it is <i>not</i> the Pentagon ; so it is not Class I.								

CLASS VI

OBVERSE MARKS.

1. Serpentine round a Central Boss ; 2a. Taurine in a Shield ; 7. Humped Bull facing to the left ; 8. Sun and Crescent Moon.

CLASS VI

FOUR REVERSE MARKS.

No.	Wt.	Marks.....				Remarks
982	41.25	1f	51b	36d	163	Clear reverse Marks. Pl. VI, 21 (Reverse).

DOUBLE-OBVERSE.

- The "Reverse" side is the Obverse of Class IX and the coins are old coins of that class, restruck.
- 983 40.75 Obverse Class VI, Pl. VI, 22. The Older Obverse of Class IX. Pl. VI, 22.
- 984 42.25 Obverse Class VI and Older Obverse of Class IX, Pl. VI, 23.
- 985 40.75 Do. Pl. VI, 24.
- The Older Class IX, Obverse, has the Reverse Mark 68b, small but clear, punched on when that face was the Reverse of the later Class VI coinage.

CLASS VII ROUND

OBVERSE MARKS.

1. Serpentine round a Central Boss ; 2a. Taurine in a Shield ; 9. Palm Tree ; 8. Sun and Crescent Moon.

DOUBLE OBVERSE.

- 986 41.0 The "Reverse" of this coin is the Obverse of an older coinage of Class IX, as appears from its having Obverse Mark 12 (a Wheel) which is clear and is not over stamped, and Mark 11 (Hexagon) which is worn and is over stamped by the subsequent Reverse Marks during its later currency as Class VII. Pl. VI, 25.

FIVE REVERSE MARKS.

8c 76b × × ×

CLASS VIII

OBVERSE MARKS.

1. Serpentine round a Central Boss; 2. Taurine in a Shield; 10. A Tree with Branches; 8. Sun and Crescent Moon.

THREE REVERSE MARKS.

No.	Wt.	...	Marks...	Remarks
987	42.0	6c	11Ab 23b	Pl. VI, 26.

FOUR REVERSE MARKS.

988	40.25	11b	68b	×	×	Pl. VI, 27.
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CLASS IX

OBVERSE MARKS.

1. Serpentine round a Central Boss; 2b. Large Plain Taurine; 11. Hexagon formed of two Triangles; 12. Wheel.

PLAIN REVERSE.

989	42.25	Pl. VII, 1.
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THREE REVERSE MARKS.

990	40.5	17f	93a	184	Pl. VII, 3.
991	38.5	1d	1k	98h	Pl. VII, 4.

CLASS IX ROUND.

TWO REVERSE MARKS.

992	41.5	1f	7a	Pl. VII, 2.
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DOUBLE OBVERSE COINS.

Coins of Class IX, which were restruck later as coins of Classes Vb, VI, and VII, and which have been entered in those Classes.

CLASS IX ROUND.

DOUBLE OBLVERSE COINS.

No.	Wt.	.....	Remarks.....
973	38·0	Cl. Vb.	On the Rev., older Obv. of Cl. IX.
979	41·0	Cl. Vb.	„ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ Pl. VI, 20.
983	40·75	Cl. VI.	„ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ Pl. VI, 22.
984	42·25	Cl. VI.	„ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ Pl. VI, 23.
985	40·75	Cl. VI.	„ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ Pl. VI, 24.
986	41·0	Cl. VII (Round)	„ „ „ „ „ „ Pl. VI, 25.

CLASS X. (ROUND)

OBLVERSE MARKS.

1. Serpentine round a central Boss; 2b. Large Plain Taurine; 11. Hexagon Formed of two Triangles; 13. Rayed Circle, the rays curving to the left. The Sun [?]

FIVE REVERSE MARKS.

993 42·0 1d, 4a, 8c, 11Ab, 56b Pl. VII, 5.

CLASS XI

OBLVERSE MARKS

The same as CLASS X. Except that Mark 13 (Rayed Circle) occurs in different varieties.

THREE REVERSE MARKS.

DOUBLE OBLVERSE COIN.

994 42·0 1b, 83l, 93c Pl. VII, 6.

There is a much worn Hexagon on the reverse which has been over stamped by the Reverse Marks. This shows that the reverse face was previously the Obverse of one of the Classes IX to XIII which bear that Mark.

FIVE REVERSE MARKS.

995 42·5 4e (var.), 7a, 14d, 35c, 38c Pl. VII, 7.

CLASS XI

SIX REVERSE MARKS.

No.	Wt.	Marks
996	40 0	1f, 11Ab, 29a, 77d, 186 Pl. VII, 8.

EIGHT REVERSE MARKS

997	42·25	1t, 11k, 14e, 15a, 125c, 185 × × Pl. VII, 9.
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NINE REVERSE MARKS

988	41·25	1f, 1q, 16a, 83d, 83h, 83i × × × Pl. VII, 10 (Reverse).
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TWELVE REVERSE MARKS

999	41·5	11Ab, 19c (var.), 192, 192, 192 (three times) and seven other confused marks. Pl. VII, 11.
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FIFTEEN REVERSE MARKS.

1000	41·25	7b, 10aa, 64 and twelve other Marks, too confused to identify. Pl. VII, 12.
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CLASS XI ROUND.

SEVEN REVERSE MARKS.

1001	42·0	1t, 1q, 2b, 92c, × × × Pl. VII, 13. (Reverse).
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CLASS XII.

OBVERSE MARKS.

The same as Classes X and XI. but mark 13 is of a different variety. It is almost worn off on coin 1002.

NINETEEN REVERSE MARKS.

1002	41·0	1f, 3b, 19c, 82f and fifteen other marks which are all over stamped and confused. Pl. VII, 14.
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CLASS XII ROUND.

FOURTEEN REVERSE MARKS.

No.	Wt.	
1003	41·5	1n, 9a, 9a(twice)93c, 93c(twice of different punches), 93d, 187, and at least seven other confused Marks. Pl. VII, 15.

CLASS XIII

OBSERVE MARKS.

Mark 1 (the Serpentine); Mark 2b (Hexagon); does not show, Mark 13 (a Variety) and a Reverse Mark of a central Boss with Pellets round it.

THREE REVERSE MARKS.

1004	30·0	Defective coin, part flaked off. 55, 73s, × Pl. VII, 16.
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UNCLASSIFIED

1005	37 5	Defective Coin. Obverse surface flaked off. Only Mark 2a (Taurine in a Shield) is identifiable.
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N. B. Owing to War conditions it was not possible to send any proof of this paper to its author. Every effort has been made to correct printing mistakes, but it is possible that some may have remained undetected, especially as the MS. was a handwritten one. — EDITOR, A. S. A.

A NOTE ON THE SHAMIWALA (BIJNOR DIST.)
HOARD OF SILVER COINS.

BY E.H.C. WALSH, I.C.S. (RETIRED).

In his interesting paper on "Shamiwala (Bijnor Dist.) Hoard of Silver Punch-marked Coins" in this Journal for 1939, pp. 1—4, Mr. Durga Prasad describes those coins as being punch-marked, though, on page 3, he notes that "as all the coins are stamped on one side with a small punch and there are no symbols on the reverse as seen usually on other types of punch-marked coins, the question arises whether they should be classed as punch-marked coins, or among the early one-sided die-struck coins, examples of which are known among Taxila copper-coins, though none have yet come to light in silver." These coins, which formed "Treasure Trove Report File No. 12 of 1920" were with the late Mr. W. E. M. Campbell at the time of his death, and had been deposited by him in the British Museum. After Mr. Campbell's death they were forwarded to me by the British Museum, in 1924, together with other coins which had been with Mr. Campbell, and I forwarded them to the Lucknow Museum. I then saw these coins. There is no doubt that they are die-struck coins. The point is material with reference to the age of the coins. The idea of combining the marks separately punched on the punch-marked coins into one die covering the entire face of the coin, was, certainly, a later development.

THREE NEW SPECIMENS OF A RARE VARIETY OF ERAN-UJJAYINI COINS.

BY H. D. SANKALIA, M.A., PH. D.
DECCAN COLLEGE RESEARCH INSTITUTE, POONA.



These coins were recently purchased by Father Heras for the Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. I am thankful to him for handing them over to me for identification and publication.

Coin No. I.—

Metal	Æ
Size	Roughly rectangular (about 0.5" in breadth and about 0.6" in length).
Weight	Not known. ¹
Obverse	To the left, circle surrounded by six symbols, two of which are taurines, two arrows, and two circles with semi-circles standing apart. In the centre a staff is surmounted by a taurine symbol.
Reverse	To the right, a worn out human figure. In the lower field <i>Svastika</i> , portions of the left and lower arms partly obliterated.

Coin No. II—

Metal	Æ
Size	Roughly rectangular (about 0.6" in breadth and about 0.7" in length).

¹ I regret that I am unable to give the weights of these coins, for after I took the plaster-casts, Father Heras suddenly left for Spain, and the coins were left at Kodakanal.

Weight	Not known.
Obverse	In an incuse circle (which is incomplete on the left side), symbols as in No. I, but very indistinct; the human figure, however, is holding in its right hand the staff in the centre.
Reverse	Is now blank, but there might have been a <i>Svastika</i> , which has disappeared owing to use.

Coin No. III—

Metal	Æ
Size	Roughly rectangular (about 0.5" in breadth and about 0.6" in length).
Obverse	In an incuse but incomplete circle, the same symbols as in No. 1 above; but the first one is incomplete. Below all the three symbols traces of river with fish as on other Mālwa coins.
Reverse	<i>Svastika</i> , ends of whose arms were once ornamented with a taurine symbol, in bold relief, with the bottom arm's end cut off.

All the three coins evidently are of an identical variety, which is rare both at Eran and Ujjayini. Cunningham published only one specimen of it among his Ujjayini list and considered it an interloper from Eran, or East Mālwa, where, he said, similar coins were found.¹ But only one coin (No. 20) of his Eran list resembles our coins in both the obverse and the reverse, whereas others (Nos. 16 and 17) have a different obverse and reverse.

Mr. Allan² includes this variety (published by Cunningham) among the Ujjayini list along with two other specimens from Stuart and Prinsep collections (*Catalogue*, pp. 253-4), whereas slightly different varieties of this coin have also been described by him though illustrated among the Eran and Kanauj-Kāda groups.

On comparing the representation of the staff³ and the taurine symbol in our coins as well as that in Cunningham's, it appears that in both the taurine symbol actually touches the staff, and does not seem to be aloof as the drawings in Allan's would suggest. Further in our coin No. II the standing figure seems to have held the staff with its right hand.⁴

Since Cunningham's time no coins of this type described here seem to have been published, and since our coins show some peculiarities which are noted above and are not found in the coins hitherto published, they may deserve notice.

¹ *Coins of Ancient India*, 1891, p. 96, Pl. X, 11.

² *Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India*, 1936, pp. 253-4.

³ Father Héras drew my attention to similar representations in early Egyptian sculpture. But I have not been able to pursue the matter further because of the reasons mentioned in Note 1 above.

A NEW HOARD OF SĀTAVĀHANA COINS
FROM TARHĀLĀ (AKOLĀ DISTRICT).

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

[Plate VIII.]

On the 6th of September 1939, a grazier boy, nine years old, found by chance an old coin on the bank of a *nala*, flowing through the field, Survey No. 120, at Tarhālā, a village about 7 miles north by west of Mangrūl in the Mangrūl *tāluka* of the Akolā District in Berar. He told his companions about it and the latter, digging at the place, came upon an earthen pot containing this large hoard of 1600 Sātavāhana coins. They were, in due course, acquired by the Provincial Government under the Treasure Trove Act and presented to the Central Museum, Nagpur. When discovered, the coins were covered with a coating of dirt and rust, but they have since been cleaned with great patience and thoroughness by Mr. M. A. Suboor, the Coin-Expert of the Museum. In the ordinary course, the coins would have been dealt with by Mr. Suboor, but knowing my keen interest in the matter, he ungrudgingly placed the whole hoard at my disposal. I am obliged to him and to Dr. S. S. Patwardhan, Curator of the Museum, for their kind help in various ways.

This is the second hoard of Sātavāhana coins to be discovered in the Central Provinces and Berar. The first one was discovered more than fifty years ago, in 1888, in a village, the name of which has not been recorded, in the Brahmapurī *tahsil* of the Chāndā District in the Central Provinces, and is known to numismatists as the Chāndā hoard. The coins of that hoard, which numbered only 183, were sent by Mr. J. Higgins, D. S. Police, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in November 1888. They were examined by Dr. Hoernle, whose report on them was read at a meeting of the Society held on the 7th June 1893 and is published in the *Proceedings* of the Society for 1893, pp. 116-117. Dr. Hoernle found in that hoard 51 coins of Śrī Sātakarṇi, 24 coins of Śrī Puṣumāvi and 42 coins of Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi. He identified these kings with Sātakarṇi-Gautamīputra I, Puṣumāvi-Vāsishṭhīputra and Yajña Sātakarṇi-Gautamīputra II. He also noticed therein some more coins with imperfect legends, *viz.*, one with *ya (ga?) Sāta*¹, two with *Siri* (or *ri*) *Kaṇu Sāta* and two with *rajño* (or *jño*) *Va*, but he did not offer any suggestions about the identifications of these

¹ What Hoernle meant was probably *ya (ga?) da Sāta*.

kings. Some coins of this hoard were subsequently presented to the British Museum, London, and the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and some seem to have found their way to private coin-cabinets². The coins presented to the British Museum have been discussed by Prof. Rapson in an article in the *J.R.A.S.* (1903), pp. 303ff. and included in his *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhras*³, etc. When Vincent Smith catalogued the coins in the Indian Museum, he found that most of the Āndhra coins in that museum were from the Chāndā hoard.⁴

As stated before, the present hoard contains about 1600 coins. Of these, 1525 were recovered entire and the remaining, which numbered about 75, were found broken to small bits. All the coins are of the Sātavāhana kings. It is noteworthy that there is not a single coin in the hoard of any other dynasty indigenous or foreign. All the coins are of potin, but the proportion of ingredients in that alloy was evidently different in different issues, for while some coins appear blackish even after thorough cleaning, others are almost as bright as copper.⁵ All the coins are round and die-struck. Rapson⁶ and Smith,⁷ while describing the potin coins of the Chāndā hoard, have remarked that the Āndhra coins of potin were cast and not die-struck. This does not appear to be correct. For the present hoard, which is of the same metal and type, contains several coins which clearly exhibit the incuse formed by the striking of the die⁸. Some coins are double struck on both the sides.⁹ The coins are all of a uniform type. They are roundish in shape and have on the obverse, the figure of an Elephant with the trunk upraised and the legend running along the edge, and, on the reverse, the Ujjain symbol, each orb of which contains a pellet. The Elephant faces right except on the coins of Karna Sātakarni.¹⁰ The legends seem to have commenced at VII, but as the die was in every case larger than the blank, only the portion between IX and I or II is visible on most of the coins. On some coins, however, the initial portion of the legend has come out intact, which has enabled me to correct in some cases the prevailing readings of the legends on the coins of the Chāndā hoard. The legends seem to have ended

² One coin of the Chāndā hoard was in the possession of Mr P Thorburn and has now been purchased by Mr M. F. C. Martin. See *J. A. S. B., Num. Suppl. XXX* (1934), Art. 318.

³ This is hereafter referred to as *B. M. C.*

⁴ V. Smith, *I. M. C.*, p. 209.

⁵ The coins, when analysed, were found to contain copper (about 75 to 80%), tin (about 20%) and traces of iron.

⁶ *J. R. A. S.* for 1903, p. 307.

⁷ V. Smith, *I. M. C.*, p. 209.

⁸ See e.g., Pl. VIII, Nos. 19 and 20.

⁹ See Pl. VIII, Nos. 33 and 34.

¹⁰ See Pl. VIII, Nos. 26 and 27. In No. 28 the Elephant faces right, but that is because of the die being wrongly made. See below, p. 89.

at II near the tip of the upraised trunk of the Elephant. The portion in front¹⁰ and below¹¹ the feet of the Elephant is blank. Another thing to be noticed in connection with the obverse type is that there is no *mahant* on the neck of the Elephant. What Hoernle¹² and following him, Vincent Smith¹³ and Rapson¹⁴ took to be the figure of a crouching *mahant* is only the trappings for the neck and head of the Elephant.

The 1525 coins of this hoard can be classified as follows :—

Serial No.	No. in the Purāṇa list according to Pargiter. ¹⁵	Name of King.	No. of coins.
1	23	Śrī-Sātakarṇi (III)—(Gautamī-putra)	573
2	24	Śrī-Puṣumāvi (II)	174
3	24a	Śrī-Sātakarṇi (IV)	35
4	25	Śiva-Śrī-Puṣumāvi (III)	32
5	26	Śrī-Skanda-Sātakarṇi	23
6	27	Śrī-Yajña-Sātakarṇi	248
7	28	Śrī-Vijaya-Sātakarṇi	4
8		Śrī-Kumbha-Sātakarṇi	56
9		Śrī-Karṇa-Sātakarṇi	7
10		Śrī-Śaka-Sātakarṇi	4
11	30	(Śrī) Pulahāmavi	4
Coins with no legends or with illegible legends			365
			<hr/> 1,525

Kings Nos. 8—10 are not known from any other source, numismatic or inscriptional.

The legends on the coins are in Prakrit and contain the name of the reigning king in the genitive case. As was already noted by Rapson, metonymics are altogether absent on these coins of ancient Vidarbha.¹⁶ The other statement of Rapson that the title *Rāja* does not occur on the coins of the Chāṇḍā hoard¹⁷ is, however,

¹⁰ Hoernle found one coin in the Chāṇḍā hoard on which *raṭṭa* (*kanasa* ?) appeared in front of the Elephant. There is no coin like it in the present hoard.

¹¹ Only in one case (Pl. VIII, No. 21) have I observed two *aksharas* (*raṇa*) below the feet of the Elephant.

¹² *Proceedings A. S. B.* for 1893, p. 116.

¹³ *I. N. O.*, p. 210, Pl. XXIII, 18.

¹⁴ *B. M. O.*, p. 42, n. 1 ; p. 48, n. 2 etc.

¹⁵ *Dynasties of the Kāli Age*, p. 30.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. cxc.

¹⁷ *Loc. cit.*

incorrect; for as shown below, the coins of the two Sātākarnis and two Puḷumāvis begin with the title *raṇa* (properly *raṇṇo*, Sanskrit *rājñāḥ*). This form of the Prakrit word was changed to *raṇa* (properly *rāṇo*) in the time of Yajña-Sātākarni. As the initial few *aksharas* of the legends on the coins of the later kings are cut out, it is not possible to say if they bore this or any other title.¹⁸

With these preliminary remarks, I shall now proceed to give a detailed description of these coins.

I. The Coins of Śrī-Sātākarni III (Gautamīputra). Total No. 573.

Potin, obv. Elephant with trunk upraised, standing to right; rev. Ujjain symbol, complete legend, *Raṇā(ṇṇo) Siri-Sātākarnisa*.

Legend	Size, diameter in inches	Weight in grains	Reference
(1) Obv. - <i>ṇā Siri-Sātaka-</i>	; .7	Wt. 39.5	Pl. VIII, 1
(2) Obv. - <i>ṇ[ā] S[ī*]ri-Sāta-</i>	; .73	Wt. 44	Pl. VIII, 2
(3) Obv. [- <i>ri</i>]- <i>Sātākarnisa</i>	; .8	Wt. 60.5	Pl. VIII, 3
(4) Obv. - <i>takaṇ[ī*]-</i>	; .75	Wt. 50	Pl. VIII, 4
(5) Obv. - <i>S[ā]tākarnisa</i>	; .7	Wt. 39.5	Pl. VIII, 5
(6) Obv. - <i>S[ā]tākarnisa</i>	; .65	Wt. 31.5	Pl. VIII, 6
(7) Obv. - <i>[Sā]tākarnisa</i>	; .7	Wt. 44	Pl. VIII, 7

The coins with the legend *Sātākarnisa* are the largest in number in this hoard; but they are not all likely to be the issues of the same king. Some of them have the legend in large and thick letters¹⁹, and others in small and thin ones²⁰. In the latter case the legend nowhere appears complete, only the portion *Sātākarni* or *Sātākarnisa* having come out on the blank. As the names of several kings represented in this hoard end in *Sātākarni* and the legends on their coins are in similar small and thin letters, it is not unlikely that these coins with the legend *Sātākarnisa* in small and thin letters belong to these later kings. Such coins number about 90. Most of the coins have the lingual *ṇ* in the name *Sātākarni*, but some have the dental *n* with a curved base. These coins I have assigned to Sātākarni IV mentioned in a MS. of the *Vāyupurāṇa*, as the grandson of Sātākarni III²¹.

Vincent Smith and Rapson differ from Hoernle and ascribe the coins with the legend *Siri-Sātākarnisa* to Śrī-Yajña-Sātākarni on the ground that the coins of the two classes are most closely connected by community of types and by the similarity of their in-

¹⁸ The coins of Vijaya-Sātākarni probably bore title *rāṇo*, see below.

¹⁹ See the legends of Nos. 1-5.

²⁰ See the legends of Nos. 6 and 7

²¹ See below, pp. 85-86.

scriptions.²² Another reason advanced in favour of this attribution is that elsewhere (*e.g.*, in the Āndhra country), the Elephant appears as a type in the latter part of the reign of Śrī-Yajña.²³ As Hoernle has given no reasons for attributing these coins to Gautamīputra-Sātakarṇi in preference to Śrī-Yajña-Sātakarṇi, it is necessary to examine the above arguments. None of them is convincing. The evidence of the present hoard shows that the type (Elephant with trunk upraised, standing to right) was long current in ancient Vidarbha. It is found on the coins of the two Puṣumāvis who undoubtedly preceded Yajña-Sātakarṇi. Besides, the royal title on these coins of Sātakarṇi is *raṇā* (for *ranno*, Sanskrit *rājnah*) while it is *raṇa* (for *rāṇo*) on the coins of Yajña. Again, the legends on these coins are in bold and archaic letters, whereas the general tendency in later times was to use small and thin letters. For these reasons²⁴ I ascribe these coins to Gautamīputra-Sātakarṇi. His metronymic is omitted as in the case of so many other kings represented in the present hoard.

II. The Coins of Śrī-Puṣumāvi (II) (Vāsishthīputra). Total No. 174.

Potin; obv. Elephant with trunk upraised, standing to right; rev. Ujjain symbol; complete legend, *Raṇā Śrī-Puṣumāvisa*.

- (1) Obv. *Raṇā Śrī-Puṣum[ā]*; .8; Wt. 43; Pl. VIII, No. 8
- (2) Obv. *-Puṣumāvi[ā]*sa; .7; Wt. 44; Pl. VIII, No. 9
- (3) Obv. *-ṣamāvi[ā]*sa; .75; Wt. 41; Pl. VIII, No. 10

This Puṣumāvi is plainly Vāsishthīputra-Puṣumāvi, the son and successor of Gautamīputra-Sātakarṇi III. As in the case of Sātakarṇi III, all the coins with the imperfect legend *Puṣumāvisa* may not belong to him, as there was another homonymous prince Śiva-Śrī-Puṣumāvi who flourished a little later. See below, No. IV.

III. The Coins of Sātakarṇi IV²⁵. Total No. 35.

Potin; obv. Elephant with trunk upraised standing to right; rev.

²² *J. R. A. S.* for 1903, p. 305; *B. M. C.* Introd., p. lxxv, n. 3. In *I. M. C.*, pp. 210-11, Smith attributes these coins doubtfully to Puṣumāvi, son of Vāsishthi.

²³ *B. M. C.*, Introd., p. lxxx.

²⁴ [Another reason for which Rapson attributed these coins to Śrī-Yajña-Sātakarṇi seems to have been his view that Śrī-Sātakarṇi was an abbreviation of Śrī-Yajña-Sātakarṇi (*Catalogue*, p. lxxv, n. 3). The coins Nos 164 and 165 of his catalogue, illustrated in plate VII, as well as coins Nos. 18 and 19 illustrated with this paper, would show that when pressed for space, mint masters were instructed to omit the opening letters *Rana* or the concluding letters *lan*. King Yajña Sātakarṇi would never have allowed the word *Yajña* to be omitted for the sake of abbreviation, as that would have rendered his coins indistinguishable from those of a number of his predecessors, who also bore the common title Sātakarṇi.—EDITOR, A. S. A.]

²⁵ The coins of Vāsishthīputra Śiva-Śrī-Sātakarṇi (*B. M. C.*, p. 29) may belong to this king. In that case he would be a brother of Puṣumāvi III.

Ujjain symbol; the complete legend may have been *Raṇā Śiva-Sīri-Sātakaṇiśa*, but none of the coins in this hoard shows the initial portion.

(1) Obv. [-ta]kan[i*]sa ; .8 ; Wt. 38.5 ; Pl. VIII, No. 11

(2) Obv. S[a*]takun[i*]- ; .7 ; Wt. 26.5 ; Pl. VIII, No. 12

I tentatively attribute these coins to Sātakaṇi IV, because the characters on these coins appear later than those on the coins of Sātakaṇi III. See especially the dental *n* with a curved base like that of *t*, and contrast it with the earlier form of the letter *n* (in Nos. 1—7), which has a horizontal base. The letter *n* in the royal name is dental and is formed like *t*. According to a MS. of the *Vāyupurāṇa* this king reigned for 29 years.²⁶

IV. The Coins of Śiva-Śrī-Puṣumāvi (III). Total No. 32.

Potin ; Obv. Elephant with trunk upraised, standing to right ; rev. Ujjain symbol ; complete legend—*Raṇā Śiva-Sīri-Puṣumāvisa*.

(1) Obv. *Raṇā Śiva-Sīri*[i*]-*Puṣu* .65 ; Wt. 37 ; Pl. VIII, No. 13

(2) Obv. -*va-Sīri-Puṣumāvi*[sa] ; .75 ; Wt. 50 ; Pl. VIII, No. 14

This king is not represented in Rapson's *Catalogue of Andhra Coins*. In his list of Andhra kings, Rapson gives his name as Śivaśrī, to whom he ascribes the coins with the legend *Vāsiṣṭhi-putasa Śiva-Sīri-Sātakaṇiśa*. But as shown by Pargiter²⁷, the *Matsya-purāṇa* and one MS. of the *Vāyupurāṇa* clearly give his name as Śiva-Śrī-Puṣomā with a reign-period of 7 years. In the Chāṇḍā hoard there were some coins, the legend on which Hoernle conjecturally read as [*Si*]va-Sīri-Puṣumāvisa, but he admitted that the first *akṣhara* *si* of *Śiva* was uncertain. He thought it not improbable that the intended word was *raṇo*, not *Śiva*²⁸. Rapson suggested that the traces read as *Siva* might only be the traces of some symbol, perhaps a conch-shell²⁹. Recently Mr. M. F. C. Martin has stated that among the coins which he purchased from Mr. P. Thorburn, there is one from the Chāṇḍā hoard, which has the legend *Śiva-Sīri-Puṣumā[visa]* quite clear.³⁰ One of the coins illustrated here exhibits not only this name, but also the title *raṇā*. If we admit Sātakaṇi IV as the son and successor of Vāsiṣṭhi-putra-Puṣumāvi, this Śiva-Śrī-Puṣumāvi becomes the latter's grandson.

This appears quite plausible, as in India children are often

²⁶ *Dynasties of the Kākā Age*, p. 42.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

²⁸ *Proceedings, A. S. B.* for 1903, p. 117.

²⁹ *J. R. A. S.* for 1903, p. 306.

³⁰ *J. A. S. B.* for 1934, *Num. Suppl.*, Art 318.

named after their grandfather. The coins with the legend *Siva-Sri-Pulumāṇsa* number only 32, but as stated above, some of the coins with the fragmentary legend *Puḷumāṇsa* may belong to him.

V. The Coins of Śrī-Skanda-Sātakarni. Total No. 23.

Potin; obv. Elephant with trunk upraised, standing to right; rev. Ujjain symbol; complete legend, (*Raṇā*) *Siri-Khada-Sātakaniṣa*.

(1) Obv. *S[i*]r[i*]-Khadā-Sātaka-*; .75; Wt. 50; Pl. VIII, No. 15

(2) Obv. *r[i*]-Khadā-Sā-*; .65; Wt. 42; Pl. VIII, No. 16

The name of this king is correctly read here for the first time. In the Chāṇḍā hoard there was a coin, the legend of which Hoernle doubtfully read as *ya(ga)da Sāta*. Vincent Smith's Catalogue includes a coin of this type, but he read the legend as *Sari Chāḍa Sāta[kani]*, while the plate clearly shows *Sari-Khadā-Sāta-*.⁸¹ The lower curve of *d* appears joined to the left limb of *s*, which seems to have misled Vincent Smith into reading it as lingual *d*. The preceding *akshara* is clearly *kha*. On several coins of this king from the present hoard, the *akshara kha* is partly cut on the left-hand edge, only the vertical being left over. This vertical has in some cases a short serif at the lower end.⁸² The coin No. 179 in Rapson's Catalogue (Pl. VII) is a coin of this type. Although it is recorded to have been found in the Krishnā District, it is of the same type and fabric as the coins of the Chāṇḍā District. Rapson read the legend⁸³ as [*Ru**]*da-Sātaka-*, but the reading is certainly wrong⁸⁴ in view of the several clear specimens of that type in the present hoard. This *Khadā Sātakani* is undoubtedly Śiva-Skanda-Sātakarni,⁸⁵ whom the Purāṇas mention as the son and successor of Śiva-Śrī-Puḷumāvi. A MS. of the *Vāyupurāṇa* assigns a reign-period of 3 years to him.

VI. The Coins of Śrī-Yajña-Sātakarni. Total No. 248.

Potin; obv. Elephant with trunk upraised, standing to right; rev. Ujjain symbol; complete legend, *Raṇa Siri-Yajña-Sātakaniṣa*.

(1) Obv. *Raṇa S[i*]r-Yajña-*; .7; Wt. 43; Pl. VIII, No. 17

(2) Obv. *-Yajña-Sātakani[sa]*; .7; Wt. 49; Pl. VIII, No. 18

⁸¹ *I M C.*, p. 213 and Pl. XXIII, 24 (? 22)

⁸² See *kha* in No. 16 illustrated here.

⁸³ *B. M. C.*, p. 46.

⁸⁴ There was, of course, an Āndhra king named Rudra-Sātakarni, as a coin (*B. M. C.*, Pl. VII, G. P. 2) gives his name clearly. But he ruled in Āndhra, not in Vidarbha.

⁸⁵ These coins show that the name *Śiva-Skanda* (not—*Skandha*) which occurs in two MSS. of the *Vishnupurāṇa* is the correct one. See Fargiter's *Dynasties of the Kāśi Age*, p. 42, n. 5. For another instance of the Prakṛit *Khadā* being taken as equivalent to *Skandā*, see No. 1186 in Luders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, App. p. 136.

- (3) Obv. - *Yaña-Sāta* ; .7 ; Wt. 40 ; Pl. VIII, No. 19
 (4) Obv. - *r[i*]-Yaña-Sā* ; .66 ; Wt. 39 ; Pl. VIII, No. 20
 (5) Obv. *Raña S[i*]r[i*]-[Yaña]*— .67 ; Wt. 39.5 ; Pl. VIII, No. 21

The coins of this king in the hoard are less than only those of Sātakarni III—Gautamīputra. Worthy of note is the change in the Prakrit form of the royal title prefixed to his name. It is *raña*²⁵ (properly *rāño*, Sanskrit *rājñah*) in place of the previous *rañā* (properly *ranno*). As the legend was rather long, it is found in some cases abbreviated into—*Yaña-Sāta*, or even—*Yaña-Sā*. See coins 3 and 4 above, (Pl. VIII, Nos. 19 and 20). The incuse on the right side of these coins shows that the legend ended there.

VII. The Coins of Śrī-Vijaya-Sātakarni.

Total No. 4.

Potin ; Obv. Elephant with trunk upraised, standing to right ; rev. Ujjain symbol ; complete legend, *Raño [Siri]-Vijaya-Sātakanisa*.

- (1) Obv. - *[ja]ya-Sātaṇ[ṇ]*— ; .68 ; Wt. 31 ; Pl. VIII, No. 22
 (2) Obv. - *ya-Sātaṇa*- ; .65 ; Wt. 45 ; Pl. VIII, No. 23

There are only four coins of this king in the present hoard. The name *Vijaya* does not occur completely on any of them, but the aksharas *ya-Sātaṇa* or *ya-Sātakani* are clear on all of them. Two of them, again, exhibit the lower curve of *j* on their left edge. As there is no other king in the Āndhra dynasty, whose name ended in *ya*, I ascribe these coins to Vijaya-Sātakarni, whom the Purāṇas mentions as the son and successor of Śrī-Yajña-Sātakarni, with a reign-period of 6 years. In the Chāṇḍā hoard there were two coins with fragmentary legends which Hoernle read as *rañño Va* or *jñño Va*. They also probably belonged to the same king. These latter coins have not been illustrated anywhere, but if Hoernle's readings were correct, we must hold that the legend on the coins did not contain the honorific *Siri* (Śrī) prefixed to the royal name. No other coins of this king have been reported till now.

VIII. The Coins of Śrī-Kumbha-Sātakarni.

Total No. 56.

Potin ; obv. Elephant with trunk upraised, standing to right ; rev. Ujjain symbol ; complete legend, *[Raño] Śrī-Kubha-Sātakanisa*.

- (1) Obv. *S[ṣ*]-ri-Kubha-Sātaṇa*- ; .67 ; Wt. 30 ; Pl. VIII, No. 24
 (2) Obv. - *r[i*]-Kubha-Sātaṇa*- ; .6 ; Wt. 29.5 ; Pl. VIII, No. 25

²⁵ Hoernle read the legend on the coins of this king from the Chāṇḍā hoard as **ta Siri-Yaña-Sātakani*, but in a note added that it was not improbable that the word to be supplied was *rājño*. (*Proceedings A. S. B.* for 1893, p. 117.) Rapson on the other hand thought that the signs might possibly only be parts of some symbol, perhaps a conch-shell. (*J. R. A. S.* for 1903, pp. 304-5.)

The coins of this king are coming to light for the first time. He is not mentioned even in the Purāṇas. He perhaps flourished at a time when the kingdom of this branch of the Sātavāhanas was confined to ancient Vidarbha.

IX. The Coins of Śrī-Karṇa-Sātakarṇi. Total No. 7.

Potin, obv Elephant with trunk upraised standing to left; rev. Ujjain symbol; complete legend, [Raño] *Siri-Kaṇa-Sātakarṇi*.

- (1) Obv. *na-Sāta-* ; .65; Wt. 30.5; Pl. VIII, No. 26
 (2) Obv. *-Kana-S[ā*]ta* ; .65; Wt. 33.5; Pl. VIII, No. 27
 (3) Obv. (reversed legend)-*ri-Kana-Sātu* ; .65; Wt. 36; Pl. VIII, No. 28.

The lower bar of the akshara *na* is bent in No. 26, while it forms a loop in No. 27. On two coins the die appears to have been wrongly formed,³⁷ as the *aksharas* appear reversed and the Elephant faces right. Two coins of this king were found in the Chāṇḍā hoard also. Hoernle read the legend as *Siri-Kanu-Sāta* on one and *-ri Kaṇu Sāta* on the other. The latter coin was presented to the British Museum and is included as No. 180 in Rapson's *Catalogue* (Pl. VII). On this coin, however, the Elephant stands facing right. Rapson read the legend as [-] *ri-Kaṇha-Sāta[ka-]*.³⁸ The second *akshara* of the name is however not *nha*. The bent right end of the lower horizontal stroke of *na* has been attached to the lower curve of the left limb of the next letter *sa*; this produces the false impression of the *akshara* being *nha*. In view of the coins illustrated here, which are of the same type and fabric, I have no doubt that the correct reading of the aforementioned Chāṇḍā coin is *Kana*, not *Kaṇha*. The corresponding Sanskrit name would be *Karna*. There were several kings in this dynasty whose names, according to the *Matsyapurāṇa*,³⁹ ended in *karṇa*, e.g., Nos. 12-14, Svātikarṇas, No. 16, Arishtakarṇa, No. 20, Sundara Śāntikarna, No. 21, Chakora Svātikarṇa, No. 29, Chandaśrī Śāntikarna, but all of them, except the last one, flourished before even Gautamīputra-Sātakarṇi III, while the form of *n* in *Kana* on the coins described above indicates that the king Karna flourished long after Gautamīputra, at least not earlier than the second century A. D. If Chandaśrī really bore the name Śāntikarna,⁴⁰ these coins may have been struck by him.

³⁷ See e.g., coin No. 28 in Pl. VIII. For other instances of such a mistake see *B. M. C.*, p. 4.

³⁸ *J. R. A. S.* for 1903, p. 306; *B. M. C.*, p. 48.

³⁹ See the list of the Andhra kings according to the *Matsyapurāṇa*, *B. M. C.*, introd. pp. lxvi and lxxii.

⁴⁰ Other Purāṇas name him as Sātakarṇi.

X. The Coins of Śrī-Śaka-Sātakarṇi.

Total No. 4.

Potin ; obv. Elephant with trunk upraised, standing to right ; rev. Ujjain symbol ; complete legend, [*Raño Siri*]-*Saka* (or *Sakasa*) *Sātakarṇisa*.

(1) Obv. -*kasa Sātaka*— ; .7 ; Wt. 34 ; Pl. VIII, No. 29

(2) Obv. -[*ta*] *Saka-S[ā]*— ; .7 ; Wt. 37 ; Pl. VIII, No. 30

The coins of this king also have not been known before. Śaka Sātakarṇi is not mentioned in the Purāṇas. We know of course of a Haku-śrī from a Nānā-Ghāṭ inscription and it is true that *s* and *h* were interchangeable in Prakrit. But this Haku-śrī flourished long before the kings represented in this hoard. It seems therefore that this Śaka Sātakarṇi, like Kumbha Sātakarṇi, ruled only in Vidarbha⁴¹ and so his name does not figure in the Purāṇic lists.

XI. The Coins of Śrī-Puḷahāmavi.

Total No. 4.

Potin ; obv. Elephant with trunk upraised, standing to right ; rev. Ujjain symbol ; complete legend, [*Raño Siri*]- *Puḷahāmavisa*.

(1) Obv. -*P[u]ḷahāma*- ; .65 ; Wt. 40.5 ; Pl. VIII, No. 31

(2) Obv. -*Puḷahāma*- ; .66 ; Wt. 51 ; Pl. VIII, No. 32

The second *akṣhara* of this king's name which appears somewhat like *sa* must be read as *ḷa* in view of the forms of that letter in the legends of Puḷumāvi II (Vāsishṭhīputra).⁴² I ascribe these coins to the last king, because his name is not spelt like that of (Vāsishṭhīputra)-Puḷumāvi or of Śiva-Śrī-Puḷumāvi. According to the Purāṇas, he was the last king of the Āndhra dynasty and ruled for 7 years only.

The discovery of this large hoard in Berar raises the interesting question of the home of the Sātavāhanas. In the Purāṇas these kings are called Āndhras, but it has been pointed out that their earliest inscriptions and coins have been found outside the Āndhra country. The earliest Sātavāhana king whose records and coins come from the Āndhra-deśa is Vāsishṭhīputra-Puḷumāvi,⁴³ but he stands very low, being the twenty-fourth in the Purāṇic list. Besides, in the Hāthigumphā inscription the king Khāravela of Kalinga is said to have dispatched a strong army to the west, dis-regarding Sātakarṇi and to have reached the Kañha-bemṇā.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Rapson has read the legend on certain Āndhra coins as *Sakasa* [na]sa. He identifies the striker of the coins with Māgharīputa-Svāmī-Sakasena of the Kānheri inscription. See *J. R. A. S.* for 1903, pp. 302 ff. ; *B. M. C.*, p. 10.

⁴² See Pl. VIII, Nos 9 and 10.

⁴³ *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol I, pp 31.

⁴⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p 79.

This plainly indicates that the kingdom of Sātakarṇi, who has been rightly identified with Sātakarṇi I, the husband of Nāyanikā, lay to the west of Kalinga, probably in Vīdarbhā. The Kṛṣṇa-beṛṇā, to which Khāravela's army is said to have penetrated, is usually identified with the modern Kṛṣṇā,⁴⁵ but this river flows south, not west, of Kalinga. There is, however, another Kṛṣṇa-veṇā to which the description would suit admirably, viz., the Kanhān, a tributary of the Wain-Gaṅgā, which flows about 10 miles north of Nagpur. From the topography of the *tīrthas* mentioned in the Vanaparvan of the *Mahābhārata*, Pargiter has shown that Kṛṣṇa-veṇā was the old name of the Kanhān.⁴⁶ "In the list of the *tīrthas* mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (Vana Parva, lxxxv, 8176—8185)," says he, "the pilgrim's course is arranged thus along the Godāvārī to its junction with the Venā (the modern Wain-Gaṅgā), northwards to the junction of the Varadā (Wardhā) with the Venā, then to the two places called Brahma-sthāna and Kuśa-plavana (which must have been situated along or near the course of the Venā), to the forest Devahrada, which is at the source of the river Kṛṣṇa-veṇā. The Kṛṣṇa-veṇā, which is mentioned often in connection with the Venā or Su-Venā (Vana Parva, clxxxix, 12,909 and Bhīṣma Parva, IX, 335), appears probably to be a tributary of the Venā which flows north of Nagpur."⁴⁷ The pilgrim is next advised to go to the Payoshnī (modern Pūrnā) and then to the hermitage of Śarabhanga. From the *Rāmāyana*⁴⁸ we learn that this hermitage was situated in the Dandakāranya, far away to the north of the Godāvārī.⁴⁹ The Kṛṣṇa-veṇā, therefore, flowed north, not south, of the Godāvārī and cannot be identified with the well-known river Kṛṣṇā. The Sātavāhanas were, therefore, ruling over ancient Vīdarbhā in the time of Khāravela.

There is another piece of evidence which points to the same conclusion. In the Nasik inscription No. 4, Gautamīputra-Sātakarṇi is called *Benākataka-svāmī*, the lord of Benākata.⁵⁰ No satisfactory explanation of this expression has been given so far. That the Benā or Veṇā was an ancient name of the Wain-Gaṅgā was, indeed, known and it was also noticed that the Siwani plates of the Vākātaka Pravarasena II mention a territorial division

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, p. 83.

⁴⁶ In the Deoli plates of the Rāshtrakūṭa king, Kṛṣṇa III, this river is called Kanhanā. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 196.

⁴⁷ *J. R. A. S.*, for 1894, p. 244.

⁴⁸ *Rāmāyana*, (Bombay ed.) Aranyakāṇḍa, canto 4ff.

⁴⁹ Pargiter places it on the northern slope of the Vindhya mountain, somewhere in the Bhopal State.

⁵⁰ Benākata is apparently mentioned in two other places, viz., II. 12 and 14 in Nasik inscription No. 3, but the readings are not free from doubt. See *Bom. Gaz.*, Nasik District, p. 556 and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 65-66, notes 5 and 42.

named Bennā-kārapara-bhāga.⁵¹ But no place or territorial division exactly corresponding to Benā-kaṭaka was noticed elsewhere. Senart was, therefore, obliged to remark, while editing the Nasik inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas, that "we know nothing about Benā-kaṭaka."⁵² Fortunately, the necessary evidence for the identification has now become available. The Tiroḍi plates⁵³, which were discovered about six years ago in the Bālāghāt District of the Central Provinces, record the grant, by the Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II, of the village Kośambakhaṇḍa situated in the western division (*apara-paṭṭa*) of Bennākata. This village I have shown elsewhere⁵⁴ to be identical with Kosambā, in the Bhaṇḍārā District, about 6 miles to the south-west of Tiroḍi. Bennākata, in which it was situated, was evidently a district comprising the territory on both the banks of the Wain-Gaṅgā.⁵⁵ In ancient times the names of large territorial divisions often ended in *kaṭa* or *kaṭaka*. Notice, for instance, Karahākata,⁵⁶ Bhojakata,⁵⁷ Tālākata,⁵⁸ Nāgara (Māngara?) kata⁵⁹ etc. The *Mahābhārata* also mentions Venākata among the countries conquered by Sahadeva.⁶⁰ It is named in connection with Kośala or Chhattisgarh. Benākata or Venākata was, therefore, an ancient country which was the home-province of the Sātavāhanas. When Gautamīputra defeated Nahapāna (or his descendants) and annexed his wide dominions, he must have removed his capital to Pratishthāna (modern Paithan in the Nizam's State), which was more centrally situated. It is well known that Ptolemy mentions Siri-Pūlumāvi (Vāsishthīputra) as ruling at Paithan.

At a later stage of their history, the Sātavāhanas seem to have moved still further to the south and settled in the modern Bellary District, which came to be named after them as Sātavāhanihāra⁶¹ or Sātāhani-ratṭha.⁶²

⁵¹ Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 246.

⁵² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 72.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 167 ff.

⁵⁴ *Loc. cit.*, p. 170.

⁵⁵ The villages mentioned in the Siyam plates as situated in the Bennā-kārapara-bhāga can also be satisfactorily identified in the Bhaṇḍārā District. See *ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 171, n. 1.

⁵⁶ See inscription No. 18 in the Kudā Caves, *A. S. H. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 87 and n. 4.

⁵⁷ Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 237.

⁵⁸ *Mahābhārata*, (Bombay ed.), Sabhāparvan, Adhyāya 31, v. 65.

⁵⁹ *New Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 180.

⁶⁰ Sabhāparvan, Adhyāya 31, v. 12. The usual reading is Venātata which seems to have been substituted for the original Venākata, when the meaning of *kata* was forgotten. It is noteworthy that the reading Venākata also is met with in some Grantha MSS. of the *Mahābhārata*. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 170, n. 6.

⁶¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 155.

⁶² *Ibid.* Vol. I - 6.

A HOARD OF KAUSAMBI COINS FROM FATEHPUR.

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[Plate IX.]

The history of India from 2nd century A.D. to the beginning of the 4th century A.D. still remains largely unexplored. Dr. Jayaswal in his commendable work, *History of India, 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.*, has thrown considerable light on this dark period of Indian history, though at times he has based his arguments on thin grounds. Thus, he holds that Bhīmasena of Giñjā inscription (dated in the year 52 of some unknown era,) Mahārāja Śivamagha of a seal from Bhītā, and Mahārāja Bhadramagha were governors of the Vākātakas.¹ He arrived at this conclusion because he assumes that the Giñjā inscription of the year 52 is dated in the Chedi era. However, since the publication of his book many other inscriptions have been published, which throw some new light on the dynasty to which Bhadramagha and Śivamagha and a few other kings belonged. Recently a hoard was found in Fatehpur district and handed over to me for examination. It contains the coins of Śivamagha, Bhadramagha, Vaiśravaṇa and Bhīmavarman. This find contradicts the theory of the late R. B. D. R. Sahni that Śivamagha and Bhadramagha were the governors of the Guptas, as also that of Dr. Jayaswal that they were the governors of the Vākātakas, their inscriptions being dated in Chedi era. If the first supposition is correct, and the dates are to be referred to the Gupta era, then the reigns of King Bhadramagha whose earliest inscription is dated 81, and that of King Bhīmavarman whose latest inscription is dated 139, will have to be placed in the first half of the 5th century A.D. when Gupta power was very firmly established over Kausāmbī. Gupta feudatories, however, though permitted to use the title *Mahārāja*, are not known to have enjoyed the privilege of issuing coinage. They also usually refer in their inscriptions to their feudal lords. The Magha rulers of Kausāmbī, however, do not refer to the Guptas in their records and issue a copper coinage showing no points of contact with the copper coin types of the Guptas. They would therefore probably have to be placed in the pre-Gupta epoch. The probability is, as Sir J. Marshall has remarked while describing the seal of Śivamagha found at Bhītā,² that Śivamagha probably flourished in

¹ Jayaswal, *History of India*, 150 A.D. to 350 A.D., pp. 229-231

² *A. S. I., Ann. Rep.*, 1911-12, p. 41.

the 2nd or 3rd century A. D. Dr. Sten Konow³ has also supported this view, and if it be correct, then it could be said with some degree of certainty that the inscriptions are dated in the Śaka era, and the dynasty probably may be counted as one of the numerous dynasties which rose to power after the downfall of the Kushānas.

The coins numbering 287, which were given to me for examination by Mr. Murarilal Kedia, a keen collector and founder of the Ramratana Pustak Bhavan, Nandan Sahu Lane, Benares City, represent merely a part of a much greater hoard discovered by a gentleman while digging a trench in his field in the village of Sāton (Haswā) in Fatehpur district. In common with the fate of so many other hoards, the major part of the hoard was at once rushed to the goldsmith to be melted down under the impression that the coins contained a good percentage of silver and gold. But when it was found out that the coins contained copper only, the remaining portion was dumped in a corner of the house and forgotten till Mr. Kedia rescued them.⁴

About the antiquity and archæological importance of the village Sāton, nothing is known except that a few small and big images of Mahishāsūramardīnī of late medieval period were found from the village and were removed to the premises of the Fatehpur District Court. The small decaying town of Haswā, seven miles south-east of the headquarters, was perhaps originally named Champāvati. According to the traditions Hamsadhvaja, Mayūradhvaja, and Śaṅkhadhvaja settled there. Hamsadhvaja changed the name of the city to Hamsapur, the corrupt form of which is Haswā. There are no ancient remains in the place except a ruined fort in the centre of the town.⁵

Out of two hundred and eighty-seven coins sent to me for examination, one hundred and eight coins, when cleaned, were found to be in fragmentary condition. Out of the remaining, one hundred and four coins were of Śivamagha, out of which eighteen were good specimens and have been dealt with here; sixty-four could be assigned to Vaiśravaṇa, out of which eleven good examples were chosen; nine coins could be assigned to Bhīmavarman, and only two to Bhadramagha. The metal used is copper.






The legend on the reverse of the coins of Śivamagha is complete on three coins (Nos. 3, 4 and 5) and incomplete in the rest, under-

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 247.

⁴ A similar hoard of Magha coins was found near the village Orhā, Bāndā District, U P, three coins from which were presented by the Government of U.P. to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. No record of this hoard, however, could be traced in the records of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

⁵ Führer, *Archæological Survey List, N. W. Provinces*, p. 161.

lined by a ladder-like design⁶ which has remained in some coins and disappeared from the others. The following types may be distinguished :—

- I. Nos. 3-5. On the obverse the bull faces to the right ; on the reverse there is inscription underlined by the ladder. The legend on all the three specimens is complete. (Pl. IX, 3.)
- II. Nos. 6-8. On the obverse the bull faces to the right ; on the reverse there is the tree in railing on the left ;  on the right, with the legend below underlined with the ladder (No. 7), which has disappeared from others. (Pl. IX, 4.)
- III. Nos. 9-11. On the obverse the bull faces to the right ; on the reverse tree in the railing is on the right and  on the left.
- IV. Nos. 12-13. On the obverse bull facing right, with \oplus at the top, and on the reverse tree in railing is on the left, and  on the right. (Pl. IX, 5.)
- V. No. 14. The same as Type IV except that the order of the symbols on the reverse is changed.
- VI. No. 15. On the obverse there is the bull standing to the right, with \oplus below ; on the reverse the tree in railing is on the left and  on the right.
- VII. No. 16. On the reverse  is on the left, and tree in railing and $\}$ on the right.
- VIII. No. 17. On the obverse bull facing right ; on the reverse $\}$ and tree in railing, to the left.
- IX. Nos. 18-19. Restruck symbols on obverse ; the symbols on the reverse the same as in Type VII.
- X. No. 20. Restruck symbols on the obverse ; on the reverse the same symbols as in Type VII.

Śivamagha or Śivamegha, as Sir John Marshall proposes to read, is known from a Bhitā seal which Sir John Marshall assigns to the second or third century A.D.⁷ and the late Dr. Jayaswal to the fourth century A.D.⁸ The seal is oval in shape measuring $1\frac{1}{4}'' \times 1''$, with standing figure of bull on the left ; crescent under his neck ; a woman standing in front, her right hand outstretched, and the left one on hip. Behind the bull there is a post or thunder-bolt (*Vajra*). In exergue, bow with arrow and pile of balls as in Āndhra coins. Across the middle of the field there is a legend in northern

⁶ This sign also occurs on the coins of Sudeva, *Brhaspatimītrā* I (Allan, *A Cat. of the Ind. Coins in the Br. Mus.*, p. 150), and also on the coins of Dhandeva (*ibid.*, p. 153, Pl. XX, 12).

⁷ *A. S. I., Ann. Rep.*, 1911-12, p. 51.

⁸ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIX, p. 297.

characters of about second or third century A.D. which reads :—
*"Mahārāja Gautamīputrasya Śivamaghasya."*⁹ This seal was discovered in the debris accumulated above the floor of the building 7, belonging to the Maurya period. The other antiquities from the debris in which this sealing was found, however, belong to the Kushāna period.¹⁰

Now archæologically, it is manifest from the IV stratum of the House of Nāgadeva, the antiquities of which belong to the Kushāna period, that the site was evacuated in haphazard fashion due to some attack.¹¹ The second evacuation of the same house, which was built three feet above the original level at the end of the third century, took place during the early Gupta period. That the evacuation was due to violent enemy attack is proved from many missiles, such as catapult and sling balls found in the lanes, and from the charred remains of the houses.¹² Jayaswal assigns the first evacuation of the city to the Bhāraśiva invasion, and second to the invasion of Samudra Gupta.¹³ No coins of Bhāraśivas have been found. Jayaswal, however, entertained the possibility of such coins being found in the large number of "anonymous" Kauśāmbi coins hitherto unpublished.¹⁴ But if Śivamagha and other kings of the same dynasty reigned over Kauśāmbi and the neighbouring country in the later Kushāna period, then the theory falls flat. There are some interesting double struck coins of Śivamagha, though the overstruck symbols are not clear. Do these coins represent the attack and conquest of Śivamagha by some unknown enemy?

It is significant to note in this connection the seal of Rājā Bhīmasena from Building No. 7 (floor level in Block No. 13 marked on the plan of the site). The seal is circular in shape, its diameter being $1\frac{1}{4}$ ". The scenes and symbols are the same as on the seal of Śivamagha, but transposed. The legend is also in similar characters and reads :—

*"(Rā) jña Vāsasu (Vāṣiṣṭhī)putrasya Śri-Bhīmasenasya."*¹⁵ This Bhīmasena has been identified by Dr. Jayaswal with the Mahārāja Bhīmasena of the Giñjā inscription of the year 52¹⁶ Mr. Amalanda Ghosh, however, rejects this identification on the ground that their titles are different.¹⁷ This argument, however, does not hold much water. He might have been in the beginning of his

⁹ *A. S. I., Ann. Rep.*, 1911-12, p. 41.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, p. 32.

¹¹ *Ib.*, 1911-12, p. 34

¹² *Ib.* p. 34.

¹³ Jayaswal, *loc. cit.*, pp. 224-225.


¹⁴ *Ib.* p. 224.

¹⁵ *A. S. R., Ann. Rep.*, 1911-12, p. 51.

¹⁶ Jayaswal, *loc. cit.*, p. 231; for Giñjā inscription see Luder's List, No. 906.

¹⁷ *Journal of the Asiatic Society of India*, 1922, p. 150.

career a humble feudatory chief, but later on he may have shaken off his yoke and styled himself as Mahārāja. The sameness of the symbols on the seals of Śivamagha and Bhīmasena establishes close relationship between the two, and if Śivamagha could be placed in the second or third century, Mahārāja Bhīmasena's inscription of the year 52 could also be dated in the Śaka era. Whether he had completely shaken off the suzerainty of the Kushāṇas and made himself independent, or he had kept up some show of his allegiance even after assuming the title of Mahārāja, it is difficult to say. Bhīmasena who assumed the title of Mahārāja had his immediate successors as Poṭhasiri and Bhada or Bhaṭadeva.¹⁸ Śivamagha who calls himself Mahārāja both in his inscription¹⁹ and on his coins, probably succeeded after those two princes had to contend with other forces, and hence the destruction of Sahajāti and restriking of his coins. This, however, must remain a conjecture, till some dated inscription of Śivamagha or some other evidence comes to light. Between the inscription of the year 52 of Bhīmasena and the inscription of the year 87 of Bhadramagha, to be described presently, there is a lacuna of 35 years,²⁰ and between the inscription of Vaiśravaṇa dated 107 and that of Bhīmavarman dated 130, there is a lacuna of 23 years. In any case Śivamagha and another ruler Jayama (gha)²¹ should probably fit in either lacuna. There might have been other kings about whom we do not know anything in the present state of our knowledge.

In the whole lot only two coins of Bhadramagha (Nos. 1-2, Pl. XI, 1-2) were found. On the obverse of No. 1 there is the bull facing to the right, and on the reverse the symbols  on left, tree in railing on right and a ladder-like design at the bottom are represented. Mr. Allan²² has also described two coins of Bhadramagha with partial legends—*dramagha* under the heading of "Coins with Incomplete Legends" in a subsection describing Kauśāmbī coins.

¹⁸ For this information I am indebted to Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist for India. In a letter he observes :—"The inscriptions I have found out at Rewā range in dates from the year 51 to the year 90. They mention Mahārāja Bhīmasena and his two successors Poṭhasiri and Bhada or Bhaṭadeva." It is interesting to note in this connection a coin from Bhītā, the legend on the obverse of which has been read as Prashtaśrīya (*ASI, Ann., Rep.* 1911-12, p. 66). The tree in railing and three arched *chaityas* to left on the obverse, and humped bull facing to the right on the reverse are the same as found on Magha coins. Thus Prashta-Śrīya may be identified with Poṭhasiri, and the coin is a further proof that he belonged to the Magha Dynasty.

¹⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 159-160.

²⁰ This lacuna is further reduced by six years, since an inscription of the year 81 of Bhadramagha is published by Mr. Krishna Deva in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, part VI.


²¹ Allan, *A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the Pr. Museum*, p. 157.

²² *Ib.*, p. 158.

Two inscriptions of Bhadramagha, now in the Allahabad Municipal Museum²³, are identical in purpose, and record the setting up of two slabs as a seat at a pond for the Holy Noble Devī by the son and daughter of Saphara and the son and daughter of Madgali Śanikā and Shaṇḍhaka.²⁴ The slabs according to Sten Konow were intended to form a seat for an image of the Devī.

Sten Konow is of opinion that the inscription of Bhadramagha numbered III in Sahni's article²⁵ is the same as Nō. (a) of his inscriptions except with slight changes. This has been explained by Sten Konow as due to some serious slips of the engraver, hence the inscription III edited by Sahni was discarded and a fresh one substituted.²⁶ Both the inscriptions are dated in the year 87.²⁷ Sahni however reads the date in his inscription as 88, and Jayaswal as 86.²⁸ Sten Konow agreeing with Marshall places the year 87 in Kanishka era²⁹; Mr. Chatterji gives strong reasons³⁰ for assigning these inscriptions to the Kushāna period. Jayaswal however places the record in Chedi era (=334 A.D. according to his reading of 86)³¹ and Sahni places the record in Gupta era (=407 A.D. according to his reading of 88). The protagonists of the Chedi era base their arguments on palaeographic peculiarities of some letters which resemble early Gupta characters. This question we shall discuss when we come to the question of the script used on the coins. It would be sufficient to say here that no hard and fast rule could be propounded to distinguish the later Kushāna and the early Gupta script.

There were 62 coins of Vaiśravaṇa in the hoard, out of which 36 had partial and obliterated legends. The following types may be distinguished :—

- I. No. 21. On the obverse the bull facing to the right; on the reverse tree in railing to the right;  on the left; ladder below, complete legend. (Pl. IX, 6.)
- II. No. 22. The order of the symbols on the reverse is changed.
- III. No. 23. On the obverse the bull facing to the right with ⊕ on top left; the symbols on the reverse the same as in Type II. (Pl. IX, 7.)

²³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 245-248; also edited by G. S. Chatterji in the *Jha Commemoration Volume*, Two inscriptions from Kosam, pp. 100-114.

²⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 246.

²⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 150-160.

²⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 247.


²⁷ *Id.*, Chatterji, *loc. cit.*, p. 109.

²⁸ Jayaswal, *loc. cit.*, p. 231.

²⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 247.

³⁰ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 104-109.

³¹ Jayaswal, *loc. cit.*, p. 231.

- IV. No. 24. On the obverse bull facing to the right ; on the reverse } and tree in railing on the left.
- V. Nos. 25-26. On the obverse bull facing to the right ; on the reverse tree in railing to the left ;  and } on right. (Pl. IX, 8.)
- VI. No. 27. On the obverse bull facing to the right with ⊕ at top left ; the symbols on the reverse are the same as in Type V.
- VII. Nos. 28-29. On the obverse the bull facing to the left ; on the reverse the ladder below.
- VIII. No. 30. On the reverse ↑ on the left ; tree in railing to the right.
- IX. No. 31. On the obverse bull facing to the right ; on the reverse } on the left ; tree in railing on the right.

Vaiśravaṇa, under the titles of Rājan and Mahārāja, is also known from the inscriptions. Majumdar has edited the inscription of Vaiśravaṇa of the year 107.⁸² The inscription is engraved on a pillar and was discovered by Mr. Majumdar in 1938 from Kosam. The purpose of this inscription is to record the establishment of a stone umbrella in honour of Buddha by the merchant Māgha, the inhabitant of Suktimatī. The umbrella was established within a temple called Pūrvasiddhāyatana in Badarikārāma. The inscription refers itself to the reign of Mahārāja Vaiśravaṇa and is dated in the year 107, the first day of the seventh fortnight of the summer.⁸³ Majumdar, on palaeological grounds, assigns this inscription to the fourth century A.D.,⁸⁴ and places it in the same group as the Giñjā inscription of Bhīmasena, and the Kosam inscriptions of Śivamagha, Bhādrāmagha and Bhīmavarman, the dates of which range between the years 51 and 139 of some unspecified era.

In Rewā two short inscriptions of Vaiśravaṇa were found by Dr. Chakravarti which have not yet been published by him. In a communication on this subject he writes to me : "I found two small inscriptions of Vaiśravaṇa at Bāndhogarh in the Rewā State. They are not dated, and each records the construction of a cave by the Rājan Vaiśravaṇa mentioned in the records as the son of the Mahāsenāpati Bhadrabāla." In the Kosam inscription of Vaiśravaṇa of the year 107, however, he is called Mahārāja and his father's name is not given. These inscriptions throw some light on Vaiśravaṇa. Firstly, we know that during the lifetime of his father he was a Rājan or governor, and afterwards assumed the title of Mahārāja. Another point which attracts our attention is the affinity


⁸² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 146-148.

⁸³ *Ib.*, p. 147.

⁸⁴ *Ib.*, p. 146.

between the name of Vaiśravaṇa's father Bhadrabāla and Bhadramagha whose inscriptions of the year 87 were found at Kosam. The difference between the inscriptions of Bhadramagha and Vaiśravaṇa is only of twenty years, and it is quite probable that the latter succeeded the former between these years. The continuation of the same symbols on the coins of Bhadramagha and Vaiśravaṇa also suggests very close relation between the two. An objection however may be raised about the different official status of Bhadramagha and Bhadrabāla. Bhadramagha is addressed as Mahārāja in the Kosam inscriptions, while Bhadrabāla of the Rewa inscription styles himself as Mahāsenāpati only. But this objection is not a serious one as Fleet has already observed; the title of Mahāsenāpati, "Great Lord of the Army," seems to have denoted equal rank with the Mahārāja and Mahāsāmanta.⁸⁵ This title is coupled with that of Mahārāja in the fragmentary Bijayagaḍh inscription of the Yaudheyas⁸⁶ assigned to the Kushāna period⁸⁷ and also in the Wālā clay seal of Pusheyana.⁸⁸ It seems possible that in the stormy days of the later Kushāna period the king also assumed the function of the Field Marshal for the better conduct of war. Another objection may be taken against the difference between the second half of the name, in Rewa inscriptions it is *bāla* and in Kosam inscriptions *magha*. Magha, however, may be a dynastic name and Bhadrabāla his full name. This point, however, requires further elucidation before a final judgment can be pronounced on the identity of Bhadrabāla with Bhadramagha.

Out of the whole lot only eight coins of Bhīmavaraman were found. All of them, however, have partial legends.

- I. Nos. 32-33. On the obverse the bull facing to the left with ⊕ at the top; on the reverse tree in railing to the left;  on the right.
- II. No. 34. Obverse the same as in Type I. The order of the symbols on the reverse is changed.
- III. No. 35. On the obverse bull facing to the right with ⊕ at the top; on the reverse tree in railing to the left; ladder below.
- IV. Nos. 36-37. On the obverse bull facing to the left; on the reverse tree in railing to the right.

Two inscriptions of Mahārāja Bhīmavarman have been discovered. The one found at Kauśāmbī by Cunningham⁸⁹ is dated

⁸⁵ Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 15, foot-note 4.

⁸⁶ *Ib.*, p. 252.

⁸⁷ *Ib.*, p. 251.

⁸⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 274f.

⁸⁹ *A. S. B.*, Vol. X., p. 3. Pl. II (3).

139. On palaeological grounds Fleet places this in Gupta era and concludes that this Bhīmarvarman must have been a feudatory of Skanda Gupta.⁴⁰ Bhandarkar places the inscription in the Kalachūriera and dates it in the second half of the 4th century A.D.⁴¹

The second inscription of Bhīmarvarman of the year 130 found at Kosam is in the Allahabad Museum. It gives the year 130 and the name of Mahārāja Bhīmarvarman.⁴² Mr. Ghosh, however, basing his arguments on palaeographical grounds differentiates between Bhīmarvarman of Cunningham's inscription, dated 139, and Bhīmarvarman of Allahabad Museum inscription.⁴³ Bhīmarvarman of Cunningham's inscription he places in the Gupta era, calling him Bhīmarvarman II, and Bhīmarvarman of Allahabad Museum inscription he places in the Chedi era calling him Bhīmarvarman I. How much truth there is in his statement it is for palaeographers to decide.

The majority of scholars in favour of the Chedi era of the inscriptions of Bhādrāmāgha, Vaiśravāṇa and Bhīmarvarman base their arguments on palaeography, which they say is of early Gupta type, though very few have taken into account the thin partition which divides the early Gupta and Kushāṇa palaeography. No less an authority than Dr. Bhandarkar holds the same view, according to whom there is no hard and fast distinction between the Kushāṇa and the Gupta scripts.⁴⁴ It is well known that in the inscription Kanishka of the year 14 everywhere the letter *ma* has the advanced form of the Gupta period, and *ha* also assumes the peculiar form of *ha* in the eastern variety of the Gupta Script.⁴⁵ Therefore the script alone cannot be taken as the surest guide in determining dates. In the case of the coins under examination, however, even palaeographically they can be easily assigned to late Kushāṇa period.

(1) The form of *gha* may be described as capital E lying flat. In the early Kushāṇa inscriptions, however, the left vertical stroke is inclined a little inward at the top.⁴⁶ *Gha* in the coins resembles *gha* in Samudra Gupta's Allahabad Pillar inscription, with the difference that whereas in the latter the base line of *gha* is slightly curved⁴⁷ the base line of *gha* in our coins is straight. This form may represent the transitional stage between the early Kushāṇa and the Gupta form.

⁴⁰ Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 65, Pl. XXXIX (c).

⁴¹ *List of Northern Inscriptions*, p. 173, n. 3.

⁴² Ghosh, Kosam Stone Image Inscription of Mahārāja Bhīmarvarman in *Indian Culture*, July 1936, p. 177.

⁴³ *Ib.*, pp. 178-179.

⁴⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 2.

⁴⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 96.

⁴⁶ Ojha, *Bhāratīya Prācīna—lipi-mālā*, Pl. VI.

⁴⁷ *Ib.*, Pl. XVI.


(2) The form of *ṇa* made up of two slightly curved hook-like verticals joined back to back with slightly curved or straight base line met in the coins is practically absent in the Gupta inscriptions. It seems to be the development of two types to be met in the early Kushāṇa inscriptions. The first may be called X type.⁴⁸ The second type which is much more common is made up of two slightly curved horizontal lines with a thin line joining them in the middle.⁴⁹

(3) *Bha* in the coins of Bhīma-varman with two recurved lines, one vertical and the other horizontal, is the same as in the Kushāṇa script.⁵⁰

(4) The form of *ma* in the coins of Śivamagha, Bhādrāmāgha and Bhīma-varman is decidedly Kushāṇa. It is in the form of an equilateral triangle with its two arms prolonged upwards, which is the regular form of Kushāṇa *ma*.⁵¹

(5) *śa* occurring in Śivamagha and Vaiśravaṇa is of Kushāṇa type, as its verticals are equal and the looped head is also not so broad as in the Gupta *śa* which has its right leg prolonged downwards, and even if there is no such prolongation the head is broad and flat as in 1.1 of the Gaḍhwā inscription of the Gupta year 148.⁵²

Coming to the medial vowel signs, short *i* in *śi* is formed by a curved stroke going upwards, starting from the right end of the horizontal line which divides the loop of the *śa*, as in the Kushāṇa *t̥hi* and *ni* in some other inscriptions⁵³; long *ī* in Bhīma is represented by a full curve at the top of *b̥ha* in the same way as *ī* in *vī* in Kushāṇa inscriptions.⁵⁴

The nearest approach to the symbols on the coins under discussion are found on the coins of Parvata, on the obverse of which a bull stands facing right, and on the reverse there are , tree in railing and a recurved line.⁵⁵ What connection, however, our king bore to Parvata, a king of the 2nd century B. C., it is difficult to say.

⁴⁸ Buhler, Mathura Inscription, No. 18, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, Plate facing p. 204 No. 18, 1.4

⁴⁹ Ojha, *loc. cit.*, Pl. VI.

⁵⁰ *Ib.*

⁵¹ *Ib.*

⁵² Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 66, Pl. XXXIX(d)

⁵³ Ojha, *loc. cit.*, Pl. VI.


⁵⁴ *Ib.*

⁵⁵ Allan, *loc. cit.*, p. 150.

LIST OF THE COINS

No.	Wt.	Size.	Metal Æ Obverse.	Reverse.
	(In grains)	(In inches)		

BHADRAMAGHA



1	68·5	·6×·75	Bull r.	 ; tree in railing r.; ladder below; <i>Bhadrama</i> ; Pl. IX, 1.
2	60·0	·6×·65	Worn out.	<i>Bhadauma</i> —; Pl. IX, 2.

ŚIVAMAGHA




TYPE I.

3	42·5	·55×·75	Bull r.	Traces of ladder below; <i>Śivamagha</i> ; Pl. IX, 3.
4	45·5	·55×·6	Bull r.	Ladder below; <i>Śivamagha</i> .
5	46·5	·5×·6	Bull r.	Ladder below; <i>Śivamagha</i> .


TYPE II.

6	45·5	·6×·65	Worn out.	Tree in railing l.;  r.; <i>Śivama</i> .
7	51·5	·55×·55	Bull r.	Tree in railing l.;  ladder below; <i>Śivama</i> .
8	45·5	·55×·65		Tree in railing l.; — <i>vamagha</i> . Pl. IX, 4.

TYPE III.

9	49·0	·6×·55	Bull r.	 l.; tree in railing r.; — <i>Śivama</i> .
10	52·5	·5×·6	Worn out.	Tree in railing r.;  l.; — <i>vamagha</i> .
11	47·5	·6×·65	Worn out.	 l.; tree in railing r.; <i>Śivama</i> —

TYPE IV.

12	48·5	·6×·65	Bull r.; ⊕ top centre.	Tree in railing l.;  r.; — <i>vama</i> —. Pl. IX, 5.
13	48·5	·55×·7	⊕ top centre.	Ladder below; — <i>vama</i> —.

LIST OF THE COINS

No.	Wt. (In grains)	Size (In inches)	Metal Æ Obverse.	Reverse.
TYPE V.				
14	45·0	·55×·6	Bull r.; ⊕ top.	<u>𑀓</u> top l.; tree in railing r.; ladder below; <i>Sivama</i> —.
TYPE VI.				
15	45·0	·6×·6	Bull r.; ⊕ below.	Tree in railing l.; traces of <u>𑀓</u> r.; - <i>vama</i> —.
TYPE VII.				
16	44·5	·65×·65	Worn out.	l. <u>𑀓</u> ; tree in railing and } , - <i>vama</i> —.
TYPE VIII.				
17	54·5	·6×·7	Bull r.	} and tree in railing; <i>Sivama</i> —.
TYPE IX.				
18	58·0	·5×·5	Restruck sym- bols illegible.	Tree in railing l.; - <i>vama</i> —.
19	56·0	·55×·6	Restruck sym- bols.	Tree in railing l., - <i>vama</i> —.
TYPE X.				
20	42·0	·6×·55	Restruck sym- bols illegible.	<u>𑀓</u> l.; tree in railing and } r.; - <i>vama</i> —.

VAISRAVANA.

TYPE I.

21	48·0	·55×·65	Bull r.	Traces of tree in railing r.; <u>𑀓</u> l.; ladder below; <i>Vaisravana</i> ; Pl. IX, 6.
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LIST OF THE COINS

No.	Wt. (In grains)	Size (In inches)	Metal \AA Obverse	Reverse.
TYPE II.				
22	55.0	$55 \times .6$	Bull r.	Traces of tree in railing l.; \hat{m} r.; - <i>śravaṇa</i> .
TYPE III.				
23	47.0	$.55 \times .55$	Bull r.; \oplus top l. corner.	Traces of tree in railing l.; \hat{m} r.; ladder below; <i>Vaiśravaṇa</i> . Pl. IX, 7.
TYPE IV.				
24	46.0	$.6 \times .6$	Bull r.	} and tree in railing l.; <i>Vaiśra</i> .
TYPE V.				
25	55.0	$.6 \times .65$	Bull r.	Tree in railing l.; \hat{m} and } r.; - <i>śravaṇa</i> ; Pl. IX, 8.
26	54.5	$.6 \times .7$	Bull r.	Tree in railing l.; \hat{m} } r.; - <i>vana</i> -.
TYPE VI.				
27	43.5	$.55 \times .6$	Bull r.; \oplus top l. corner.	Tree in railing l.; \hat{m} and } r.; - <i>vana</i> .
TYPE VII.				
28	44.5	$.55 \times .6$	Bull l.	Ladder below, <i>Vaiśrava</i> .
29	64.0	$.55 \times .7$	Bull l.	Ladder below; - <i>śrav-</i> <i>ana</i> .
TYPE VIII.				
30	47.0	$.55 \times .6$	Worn out.	\uparrow l.; tree in railing r.

LIST OF THE COINS

No.	Wt. (In grains)	Size (In inches)	Metal \mathcal{A} Obverse	Reverse.
TYPE IX.				
31	53.0	.5 \times .6	Bull r.	{ l. ; tree in railing r ; <i>Vaiśra</i> -.}

BHĪMAVARMAN

TYPE I.				
32	56.0	.6 \times .6	Bull l. ; \oplus top.	Tree in railing l. ; \hat{m} r. ; Bhīma-varma-.
33	53.0	.5 \times .75	Bull l. ; \oplus top.	Tree in railing l. ; \hat{m} - <i>Bhīma</i> va.

TYPE II.

34	56.0	.55 \times .65	Bull l. ; \oplus top.	Tree in railing r. ; l. ; - <i>mava</i> -..
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TYPE III.

35	45.5	.65 \times .7	Bull r. ; \oplus top.	Traces of tree in railing l. ; ladder below ; - <i>mavama</i> ; Pl. IX, 9.
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TYPE IV.

36	44.0	.55 \times .6	Bull l.	Tree in railing r. ; <i>Bhīma</i> -..
37	54.4	.6 \times .6.	Bull l.	Tree in railing r. ; - <i>mava</i> -..

A NEW HOARD OF YAUDHEYA COINS FROM DEHRA DUN DISTRICT.

BY RAI BAHADUR PRAYAG DAYAL, LUCKNOW.

[Plate X.]

Among tribal coins, those attributed to Yaudheyas are seldom found, and ever since the inception of the Coin Committee in the United Provinces in 1898, this is the first time that a hoard of this class of coins has come to light in the United Provinces.

As the name signifies, the Yaudheyas were a community of warriors inhabiting Eastern Punjab and holding sway over the whole of Northern Rajputana, Eastern Punjab, and Saharanpur and Dehra Dun districts in the United Provinces. They issued coins from about the 2nd century B.C. to the beginning of the 4th century A.D., when with the advent of the Guptas their currency came to an end.

All the types of their coins are fully described in the *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India* in the British Museum by Mr. J. Allan, published in 1936.

Fortunately synchronising with the year of the publication of this exhaustive work comes the discovery of an entire mint in the Punjab and of a hoard of coins in the United Provinces.

About a thousand moulds for casting copper coins were dug out by my esteemed friend Dr. B. Sahni, M.Sc., Sc.D., F.A.S.B., F.R.S., of Lucknow University at Khokra Kot, a mound on the outskirts of Rohtak in the Punjab. They are noticed in *Current Science*, Vol. IV, No. 11, for May 1936. These moulds are very interesting and illustrate the practical technique of the cast coinage.

Eight moulds were arranged on a disc round a central hole, obv. and rev. discs being prepared separately. The obverse and reverse discs were laid in piles in exact positions denoted by a line-mark on the edges and molten metal was poured into the central hole reaching sockets through the eight channels radiating from the central hole. The casts were then separated and finished with a file, if necessary. The coins of the Rohtak mint, manufactured in this way, bore the legend *Yaudheyānām bahudhāñake*, the latter portion of which had remained unread so far, and was deciphered by the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, the distinguished numismatist and scholar of Patna, who exhaustively dwelt on the history and coinage of the Yaudheyas in his Presidential address delivered at the Annual

Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India at Udaipur in November 1936. (*Vide* "Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India," 1936.)

I now proceed to examine the hoard of 164 copper coins discovered early in 1936. These were found in an earthen vessel by one Kalya of village Panjya, Khat Bana, in Jaunsar Bawar, Tahsil Chakrata of Dehra Dun district, while ploughing his field. The coins had a thick coating of verdigris and being in a bad state of preservation defied decipherment in the first attempt.

They have now been cleaned, classified and deciphered as far as possible. Taken as a whole, the lot represents specimens of the type treated in Class 3 of Allan's *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India* in the British Museum (p. 270). On their obverse, there is usually Kārtikeya; the reverse shows a surprising variety in symbols, animals and deities which have been duly noted below. The coins belong to the later stage of Yaudheya history and may be assigned to the second century A.D.

There are small differences in size and fabric; some of them have inscriptions in bold while others have in cursive Brāhmī characters showing signs of deterioration, but the types are similar, although symbols exchange places and positions. Some new symbols and animals constitute new varieties and they deserve to be noticed here.

- No. 2-3 Obv.—Kārtikeya, six-headed, (the outer row of 5 heads has crests), standing facing, holding spear in r. hand and resting l. arm on hip.
 Rev.—Goddess standing facing. Tree on r.
 Weight 129 grs. Size .95."
Novelty.—The outer row of 5 heads is crested.
- „ 4 Obv.—Kārtikeya, six-headed, (the upper row of 3 has crests), spear standing left.
 Rev.—Goddess with radiate head, standing facing, with r. hand raised and l. hand resting on hip. *Chaitya* surmounted by *Triratna* on l. Tree on r.
 Weight 92 grs. Size 1."
Novelty.—The upper row of 3 heads is crested.
- „ 8-9 Obv.—Kārtikeya standing with a vase in field on r.
 Rev.—Goddess six-headed, (the outer row of 5 has crests), standing facing with r. hand raised and l. hand resting on hip. *Chaitya* on l. Tree on r. Pl. X
 Weight 143 grs. Size 1".
Novelty.—The outer row of 5 heads is crested on reverse.

- 11 Obv.—Kārtikeya six-headed without crests, standing.
 Rev.—Goddess. *Chaitya* on l. Tree on r. Circular mark below *Chaitya*.
 Weight.—109 grs. Size '95."
Novelty.—Circular mark below *Chaitya*.
- 12 Obv.—Kārtikeya six-headed without crests standing facing with r. hand raised towards spear and l. hand resting on hip. Pl. X.
 Rev.—Śiva, three-headed, standing. *Chaitya* on l. Tree on r. Pl. X.
 Weight.—153 grs. Size 1"
Novelty.—Śiva on reverse.
- 16 Obv.—Kārtikeya standing on lotus with a vase in field on r. Inscription *Brahmanyudevasya*. Pl. X.
 Rev.—Goddess standing on lotus. Tree on l. *Chaitya* on r.
 Weight.—195 grs. Size 1.05".
Novelty.—Kārtikeya and Goddess standing on lotus.
- 19-20 Obv.—Kārtikeya standing facing, holding spear.
 Rev.—Deer standing to r. Tree on r. *Chaitya* on l. Building above.
 Weight.—114 grs. Size 1.05".
Novelty.—Building above.
- 25 Obv. Kārtikeya standing pointing with uplifted r. hand to a cock standard (?) Pl. X.
 Rev.—Deer standing to r. Tree on r. *Chaitya* on l. Vase above
 Weight.—144 grs. Size '9."
Novelty.—Cock standard (?).
- 46 Obv.—Kārtikeya six-headed with 6 crests standing, facing, with r. hand raised and l. resting on hip. Pl. X.
 Rev.—Deer standing to r. Tree on l. *Chaitya* on r.
 Weight.—96 grs. Size '95."
Novelty.—Kārtikeya six-headed with 6 crests.
- 63 Obv.—Traces of Kārtikeya standing.
 Rev.—Bull standing to r. Tree on r. *Chaitya* on l. Pl. X.
 Weight.—107 grs. Size '85."
Novelty.—Bull in place of Deer.

- 64 Obv.—Traces of Kārtikeya standing.
 Rev.—Ass standing to r. on some round object. Tree on
 r. *Chaitya* on l. Pl. X.
 Weight.—142 grs. Size .9."
Novelty.—Ass in place of Deer.
- 74 Obv.—Kārtikeya six-headed standing facing, holding
 spear in r. hand and resting l. arm on hip.
 Rev.—Horse standing to r. Tree and *Chaitya* above.
 Pl. X.
 Weight.—122 grs. Size .95."
Novelty.—Horse (?) in place of Deer.
- 85 Obv.—Śiva one headed standing facing, holding *Trisūla*.
 Rev.—Deer standing to l. *Chaitya* on l.
 Weight.—159 grs. Size .9."
Novelty.—Śiva holding *Trisūla* in place of Kārtikeya.
- 95 Obv.—Kārtikeya six-headed (having 6 crests) standing
 facing.
 Rev.—Deer standing to r. before an incomplete building.
 Letters *darma* above deer.
 Weight.—115 grs. Size 1."
Novelty.—Kārtikeya six-headed with 6 crests.
- 96 Obv.—Traces of Kārtikeya.
 Rev.—Deer standing to r. before building having a round
 base.
 Weight.—115 grs. Size 1."
Novelty.—Base of building round.
- 104 Obv.—Mutilated.
 Rev.—Leopard standing to l.
 Weight.—82 grs. Size .9."
Novelty.—Leopard in place of Deer.

A NEW SILVER COIN OF HUVISHKA.

BY MR. M. B. L. DAR, B.Sc., LL.B., P.C.S., ALMORA.


[Plate X-A. No. 7]

Metal—AR.

Weight—30 grains.

Size—Circular, about .8" in diameter. Bored at the top.

Obv.—Half length bust of king facing right, wearing coat of mail and round crown bound with fillet, holding the sceptre in his right hand and an elephant goad in his left. Halo round the face.

Rev.—Sun God facing left, rays issuing from a halo round the face. He wears chlamys. Right arm is outstretched, left hand at waist, touching short sword at side.  symbol on left, inscription on the right. Pl. X-A, No. 7.

The coin considering the metal, is in a good state of preservation, but is unfortunately chipped off at one side, making the decipherment of the whole of the usual legend difficult.

The coin in my cabinet is unique in its rarity, for it is not only in silver but its obverse has a very rare bust of Huvishka. Silver coins of the Kushānas are but rarely met with.

[Stray silver coins of the Kushānas are sometimes found and some of them have been published. A silver coin of Wima Kadphises has been published by Gardner in his *Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, Pl. XXV, No. 11. On its reverse there are two deities, Nano and Oesho, and it weighs 40 grains. A silver coin of Kanishka with Oesho on the reverse, is in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and has been published in *A.R., A.S.I.* 1925-26, Pl. LX, f. Its weight has not been given. The Punjab Museum, Lahore, has a silver coin of Huvishka with Nana and Oesho on the reverse, and weighing almost as much as the present coin, i.e., 28 grains. (See *Catalogue*, Vol. I, p. 197, No. 135 and Pl. XVIII.) A coin of Huvishka, similar to that in the Punjab Museum, exists in the cabinet of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and has been published by Mr. (now Rao Bahadur) K. N. Dikshit in that Society's *Journal*, Vol. XXIV, p. 384 and plate. On its reverse there are Nano and Oesho and its weight is 40 grains. Mr. Dar's coin would thus be the fifth silver Kushāna coin to be published.—EDITOR, A.S.A.]

SOME RARE PANCHALA COINS FROM THE SITE OF ANCIENT AHICHCHHATRA IN BAREILLY DISTRICT.

By MR. M. B. L. DAR., B.Sc., LL.B., P.C.S., ALMORA.

[Plate X-A.]

The coins described below were obtained by me on the site of the ancient Ahichchhatra during the course of the year 1939.

VASUSENA.

I.

Metal—Æ. Weight—140 grains.

Size—Circular, .9" in diameter.

Obv.—The usual Pañchāla symbols on the top, with the king's name "VASUSENĀSĀ" below, in an incuse formed by the impression of a square die on a round coin.

Rev.—A spirited horse with bent neck and upturned tail.

Pl. X-A, No. 6

No effort has so far been made to establish the identity of the Śunga King Vasumitra or Sumitra, although numismatists have discussed the probability of Agnimitra of the Śunga dynasty being the same as the Pañchāla king of that name.

The figure of the spirited horse on the reverse recalls the scene in the *Mālvikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa, in which a messenger comes to Agnimitra, Viceroy of Vidiśā, with a letter from Pushyamitra, his father, inviting him for the Aśvamedha sacrifice, which was about to be started. The horse, which had been let loose according to custom for one year, as a challenge to all opponents, was guarded by prince Vasumitra, son of Agnimitra, attended by 100 other princes, and on the attempted capture of this horse by Yavanas the latter were defeated by Vasumitra or Sumitra.

The Aśvamedha is an ancient Hindu rite performed by powerful kings as a proof of "universal" conquest, and the duty of guarding the horse was regarded as a very great honour and privilege.

The successful guarding of the Aśvamedha horse must naturally have been regarded by Vasumitra, which is evidently another name for Vasusena, as the most remarkable event in his life, justifying its commemoration by the adoption on the reverse of his coins of a tell-tale symbol in the shape of a spirited horse. There are many examples of such symbols in numismatic history.

The donor of the Pabhosa cave, Āshādhasena, traces his descent from the king of Ahichchhatra. According to Dr. Jayaswal, the Pabhosa cave was built in the 10th year of the reign of Odraka, the 5th Śunga King and son of Vasumitra, who appears to be identical with Vasusena of the coins in my cabinet described above.





As far as I know, no coins of Odraka have so far been found, but the testimony of the Pabhosa inscription, tending to show the extent of the Śunga Empire as far as Kauśāmbi and Ahichchhatra, is confirmed by this coin.



This remarkable coin identifies one more king of the Śunga dynasty with a hitherto unknown Pañchāla king and provides one more proof of the suzerainty of the Śungas over the N. Pañchāla kingdom, thereby filling up an important gap between Agnimitra on the one hand and Odraka on the other, and strengthening still more not only the theory that Agnimitra of the Pañchāla coin is identical with the Śunga king of that name, but that another Pañchāla king Vasusena of this coin in my cabinet is no other than Vasumitra of the Śunga Dynasty.

II. TAGAPĀLA AND DAMAGUTA.

Æ. Weight—78 grains.


Size—Circular, .7" in diameter.

Obv.—Three symbols    on the top with the king's name "TAGAPALASA" below in a small incuse formed by the impression of a squaredie on a round coin, partially obliterating a faint *chakra* symbol on the left, which now appears as .

Rev.—King's name "DAMAGUTASA" in a small oblong remnant of the incuse formed on the obverse; the upper portion, which betrays the outline of the third Pañchālā symbol  placed as a first symbol is countermarked with the symbol  found on the reverse of the coins of Phalgunimitra. Pl. X-A, No. 5.

I am obliged to R. B. K. N. Dikshit, the Director General of Archaeology in India, for helping me in deciphering the names of the two kings.

It is a unique coin in the sense that

- (a) It mentions two hitherto unknown kings either in the Śunga or Pañchāla line;
- (b) the issue of one king has been counterstruck by another;
- (c) A symbol of *chakra* has so far not been known to appear on any of the Pañchāla coins, and
- (d) the third  one of the Pañchāla set of symbols has never before been known to appear as first.

III. UNINSCRIBED COIN.

Æ. cast. Weight—65 grains.

Size—1.1" × .5."

Obv.—A pair of two circular discs joined together, with a diamond shaped surface of metal at the junction. Each disc has a raised border divided by vertical lines to give it an ornamental appearance. Within the border is an eight petalled *chakra* symbol with a flat plain knob in the centre, giving it the appearance of a lotus flower. One of the two circular discs has a join left in the casting process, still adhering to it at one end.

Rev.—Plain and flat.

The eight petalled symbol appears to have been popular with early coiners in Ahichchhatra, for we find a modification of the eight petalled symbol appearing in very small sizes over the tokens or seals that I have described in the next paper.

SOME RARE SQUARE COPPER PIECES FROM
AHICHCHHATRA IN BAREILLY DISTRICT.

BY MR. M. B. L. DAR, B.Sc., LL B., P.C.S., ALMORA.

[Plate X-A.]

I was much interested in the note by Mr. Ajit Ghose on "Rare Oblong Coins from Rajgir" published in Vol. I. of the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* pp. 5-8; and since he refers to me in connection with a somewhat similar find from the site of ancient Ahichchhatra (modern Ramnagar) in Bareilly District I think it would interest scholars of numismatics, if I describe the pieces in my possession.

I do not consider my pieces to be coins at all. Each one of them has a solder mark on the reverse which suggests their probable use as tokens or seals rather than as coins. Had they been coins, there was no necessity for them to have any solder marks on their reverse.

All these pieces vary between 6 to 14 grains and the variation in weight is evidently due to variation in the quantity of solder material sticking on the reverse of these pieces. In all these specimens, the obverse symbol is enclosed within a double border—raised and ornamented—which appears more like oblique strokes arranged in a line giving it the appearance of a twisted cord. Date trees are not only not common in this part of the country but the design on my pieces is certainly not anything like a date palm leaf.

These pieces are of exquisite workmanship and are not die struck but cast.



I have examined Mr. Ajit Ghose's specimens, and after a re-examination of my own pieces, I find that my pieces are clearly distinguished from the former by

- (a) lighter weight,
- (b) solder mark on the reverse, and
- (c) differentiation in the symbol.

They are however, remarkably similar in workmanship, which leads me to regard them as belonging to the same period.

Two of the pieces in my cabinet have no solder mark; I therefore consider them to be unused pieces while the others having a solder mark are used ones.

They have been found with punch-marked and Pañchāla coins on the surface, but in the absence of any reliable or sufficient data, it is impossible to assign them an exact date.

Two of these pieces in my cabinet have one well-known Pañchāla symbol  on the obverse and another incomplete Pañchāla symbol  on the reverse. I would therefore definitely assign them to the Pañchāla period.

Four others have a symbol, shaped like a lotus, or maybe, it is a "chakra of 8 spokes or *patras* (leaves) with a nucleus centring round a *nābhi*" as mentioned by Mr. Durga Prasad in his scholarly paper on punch-marked coins on page 29 of the *N. S.*, No. XLV. This would give a further support, from a rather unexpected quarter, to Mr. Durga Prasad's theory of the adaptation of Tantric *mudrās* as early coin symbols.


I have in my collection one curious piece with a beautiful figure of a tortoise on the obverse. This piece too has a solder mark on the reverse and is therefore a used token or seal, though of a different shape.


I do not know if Mr. Ajit Ghose has found any piece with a solder mark, but in view of definite solder marks on most of my pieces and the absence of such marks on only a few, I would regard the pieces in my collection as tokens or seals and not coins.

I. *Æ.*

Weight—10 grains.

Size—.4 × .4 inches.

Obverse—The Pañchāla symbol  within a raised double border of strokes or dots, which gives it the appearance of a twisted cord. Only traces of outer border visible.


Reverse—Portion of the Pañchāla symbol . Pl. X-A, No. 4.

II. *Æ.*

Weight—6 grains.

Size—.4 × .35 inches.


Obverse—As in No. 1.

Reverse—Pañchāla symbol 

III. *Æ.*

Weight—10 grains.

Size—.4 × .4 inches.

Obverse—Symbol  within raised border as in No. 1, but with both inner and outer border quite distinct.

Reverse—Plain but with a solder mark.

IV. *Æ.*

Weight—10 grains.

Size—.4 × .4 inches.

Obverse—As in No. 3.

Reverse—As in No. 3.

V. *Æ*.

Weight—10 grains.

Size—.4 × .4 inches.

Obverse—Indistinct but probably as in No. 3.

Reverse—As in No. 3.

VI. *Æ*.

Weight—9 grains.

Size—.4 × .4 inches.

Obverse—As in No. 3.

Reverse—As in No. 3.

VII. *Æ*.

Weight—12 grains.

Size—.4 × .4 inches.

Obverse—As in No. 3.

Reverse—As in No. 3.

VIII. *Æ*.

Weight—14 grains.

Size—.4 × .4 inches.

Obverse—As in No. 3.

Reverse—As in No. 3.

IX. *Æ*.

Weight—13 grains.

Size—.5 × .5 inches circular.

Obverse—Figure of a tortoise within raised double border as
in No. 3.

Reverse—As in No. 3.

ANCIENT COINS FROM MAYURBHANJ

By P. ACHARYA, B.Sc.,

STATE ARCHÆOLOGIST, MAYURBHANJ.

The first report on the Roman gold coins was written as follows by Mr. Beglar :—

“Some years ago a great find of gold coins containing, among others, several of the Roman emperors, Constantine, Gordian, etc.,¹ in most beautiful preservation, was found near Bamanghati. Mrs. Hayes, the Deputy Commissioner's wife at Singhbhum, possesses several very fine ones indeed, made into a bracelet, but in such manner as to leave the coins absolutely uninjured. I tried in vain to procure some, but failed, except the choice ones (choice as to excellence of preservation) picked out and secured by the Deputy Commissioner ; the rest got dispersed, and it is now hopeless to try and find out where they are, if they indeed exist at all and have not been melted. The finding of these coins at Bamanghati shows that it lay on some great line of road from the seaport Tamruk to the interior, for it is more probable that they came in *via* Tamruk than overland from the Roman empire.”²

As we are not in a position to examine these coins now, we must feel particularly indebted to Mr. Beglar for his interesting note, quoted above, about these Roman coins.

It is quite possible that subsequent to the above discovery of Roman coins, other coin hoards may have been discovered in Mayurbhanj State, but we have no records about them. To one such hoard undoubtedly belong the genuine copper coins of the Kushāna emperors in the Baripada treasury ; I have, however, failed to get any clue to its time and place of discovery.

Since the establishment of the Archæological Department in the Mayurbhanj State, hoards of old coins have been discovered and reported with a pleasing frequency, thanks to the policy of awarding rewards to the discoverers. In 1923 a hoard of copper Kushāna coins of Kaniska and Huviska and the so-called Puri-Kushāna coins was found out at Bhanjakkia, not far from Khiching,

¹ Bamanghati is a Subdivision in Mayurbhanj. In the old maps of the survey of India, Bamanghati finds a mention ; it is seen to be very near modern Rairangapura, which is the subdivisional headquarters.

² Cunningham, *Report of the Archæological Survey of India for 1874-75 & 1875-76*, Vol. XIII, pp. 72-73.

and its report was published by Rai Bahadur R. Chanda.³ Some of these coins have been distributed to almost all the important museums in India and to the British Museum, and Allan's latest book on the coins of India contains a reference to them. Since 1924, Kushāna and so called Puri-Kushāna coins have been found at various places in Mayurbhanj and the important hoards are mentioned below. During the excavation of Viratgarh at Khiching a few Kushāna coins and a large number of Puri-Kushāna coins were found. Among the Puri-Kushāna coins there were many twin coins which, when broken, would turn into two single coins. Such double coins have not been found in the hoards of Ganjam, Puri, Balasore, Mayurbhanj, Singhbhum and Manbhum, which have been all referred to in the article on the so-called Puri-Kushāna coins by Dr. S. K. Bose.⁴ In this article, Dr. Bose has, however, not referred to the hoard found at Barabhum in Manbhum,⁵ and to an earlier hoard described by Mr. Beglar as follows:—"It is said that a large quantity of coins were found buried at its foot some years ago, when a European official from Ganjam dug it up—some of gold and silver, but many of copper. I could get none of the gold and silver coins, but I got a few copper ones much defaced. They were evidently Indo-Scythian, and thus confirm the great antiquity of the place, and incidentally prove the great influence of the Indo-Scythians in India when even their copper currency is found so remote from their capital."⁶

In May, 1939, 105 Puri-Kushāna coins were found in a brass pot at Nuagaon 3 miles west of Josipur and nearly 3 miles east of Bhanjakia in Mayurbhanj. In this connection I may mention here that I have collected a few copper Kushān and Puri-Kushāna coins from the Keonjhar State, which were found at Sitabinjhi where there are ruins as well as a rock painting with a fragmentary inscription belonging to 4th or 5th century A.D., and which has been read as *Sri Dśa Bhanja* by Pandit B. Misra. (*Modern Review*, 1938, pp. 301-5.)

The hoard of Khiching coins can be classified as full, half and quarter coins. Among the coins of Bhanjakia, Khiching and Nuagaon hoards of Mayurbhanj State, many coins possess frills of the molten metal from the edges of the mould, and there are a few coins in pair which are indicative of non-circulation of the coins; it may be therefore conjectured that there was a mint at Khiching. Dr. S. K. Bose also expected a mint somewhere in the neighbourhood of

³ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1924-25*, p. 38.

⁴ *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, pp. 727-730.

⁵ *Banca Sahitya Parishat Patrika*, Vol. XVIII, 1328 (1921), pp. 25-30.

⁶ *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. XXX, 1910, p. 100.

Manbhum and wrote as follows :—"With the exception of six coins the rest are not well trimmed and invariably show protruding edges. What was long ago suspected by Walsh seems now to be confirmed. The regions from which my coins come (which, incidentally, I might say is not very far from the provenance of Mr. Walsh's coins) most likely was a mint area where the coins were actually manufactured." ⁷ The late Mr. R. D. Banerjee in his *History of Orissa*, pp. 108-119, has dealt with the Kushāna and so called Puri-Kushāna coins and has written as follows :—

"The occurrence of this type of the coinage from Singhbhum to Ganjam very probably indicates influences of the Kushānas. We know that Magadha was included in the empire of the great Kushānas and, therefore, it could not be unscientific to assume that the so-called Mughal invasion ⁸ of Orissa was really the conquest of the country by the Kushan foreigners." ⁹ No gold coins of the Kushāna kings have been found anywhere in Orissa, but such coins are known from Chota Nagpur ¹⁰ and Bengal, ¹¹ and from this it is expected that Kushāna gold coins were circulating as currency in Orissa also.

The most important find of coins in the Mayurbhanj State is undoubtedly that of 3 gold coins (archer type) of Chandra Gupta II, which were discovered in August 1939 at a village called Bhanupur on the left bank of the Son river in Mayurbhanj. This discovery could not have come to our knowledge, if there had been no altercation among the villagers leading to the intervention of the State Police. The Police could however recover only three gold coins. The discovery of gold Gupta coins is unknown in Orissa, and this is the first report of its kind. There is no report on the discovery of Gupta coins from Chota-Nagpur. Only one Gupta coin was found at Tamluk. It may be that all these Gupta coins were brought by the merchants.

All authorities agree that the copper coins of the so-called Puri-Kushāna type are, like the Gupta coins, copied from the Kushāna coins. The inscribed *Tanka* coins are no doubt of later date, probably of the 7th century A.D., but the un-inscribed Puri-Kushāna coins should be much earlier, as early as the 3rd or 4th century A.D. Gupta Kings are not known to have conquered or annexed Orissa to their empire, ¹² and so it may be inferred that the kings of Orissa

⁷ *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, p. 730.

⁸ [Mr. Banerji is here referring to a Mughal invasion of Orissa which, according to the *Mādālā Panjā*, is said to have taken place before the Saka year 396.—Error, A S.A.]

⁹ *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 113.

¹⁰ *J. B. & O. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 231-32.

¹¹ *J. & P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 128 ff.

¹² *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 117.

during the Gupta period of the Indian History had their own coins and were quite independent of the Gupta emperors. Their coinage is represented by the so-called Puri-Kushāna coins. Professor A. S. Altekar also seems to accept this view, for he says :—"If the Kushāna coins were introduced in Orissa by pilgrims and merchants, it is clear that they soon became as a model for their coinage which was continued up to the 7th century A.D." ¹³ Dr. S. K. Bose writes on this subject that "these so-called Puri-Kushāna coins, appear to possess purely a local and dynastic value." ¹⁴

Rai Bahadur R. Chanda suggested in his Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India for 1924-25 that the designation of the "Puri-Kushāna" coins should be changed to "Oriya Kushan" coins, but Dr. S. K. Bose did not prefer "any suggestion of attributing a geographical name of the coins." ¹⁵ When he is of opinion that these coins only "possess purely a local and dynastic value" in Orissa, it is not clear why he demurs to the suggestion. I am suggesting that we are now in a position to designate these so-called Puri-Kushāna coins as "early Orissan Coins" which are practically found in Orissa, including States of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar and in the districts of Singhbhum and Manbhum, which are contiguous to Mayurbhanj and contain enough relics of the Orissan Culture.

¹³ *Numismatic Supplement* No. XLVII, 1937, p. 106.

¹⁴ *Indian Culture*, Vol III, p. 730.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

SOME RARE COINS IN MY CABINET.

BY CAPT. P. S. TARAPORE.

[Plate XI.]

(a) BAHMANI KINGS OF GULBARGĀ.

1. Muhammad Shah I.

℞. Mint. Fathabad.

Date. (୧୧୮) Sic. (766 A.H.)

This is a rare Bahmani mint published in N. S. No. XLIII by Mr. Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad of Hyderabad Museum. It is interesting on account of its date (୧୧୮) which appears to be a mistake of the die-cutter. Fathabad is Dharur in Bir District of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions.

2. Ahmad Shah I.

℞. Mint—Ahsanābād.

Date—823 A.H.

This coin is interesting as it throws some light on the possibility of Ahmad Shah I, issuing coins in his own name during the life-time of Firoz Shah. Ahmed Shah came to the throne in 825. The date on this coin is clearly 823 A. H. The type also is that of an early period. It could not be a die-cutter's mistake for 832 or 833 A.H. The seat of Government was transferred from Ahsanabad to Muhammadabad in 826 A. H.

Firoz Shah, whom Ahmad Khan succeeded, was engaged from 820—822 A. H. in a war with Deva Raya, Raja of Vijayanagar in Pangal (a place in Nalgunda District, H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions). He was defeated there with heavy losses.

On his return to the capital, he became jealous of his brother Ahmad Khan on account of a prophecy that the latter and not his own son Hussain Khan would succeed him. Firoz was advised to put out Ahmad Khan's eyes to prevent the prophecy coming true. When Ahmad Khan learnt of his danger, he fled to Khanapur (Rasulabad), accompanied by his friend Khaliq Hussain Basri and about 400 trusted followers and set up his standard as Sultan. His force was increased by recruits from Gulbarga, Bidar and Kalyani. Firoz sent a force of 8,000 Sawars and elephants against him. Ahmad Khan contrived to procure some horses and oxen from some traders and Banjaris to serve as mounts for his men and thus to inflate his

force. The horsemen were placed in front and the soldiers with the oxen in the rear carried flags. When Firoz's army met this army of troopers, they are said to have been seized with panic and fled. As a result of this triumph, all the nobles and Firoz's army came under his standard. (*Vide* "Silsilae-Asafia," Vol. III, Part I, pages 141—143.)

These events evidently refer to the year 823 A.H., when Ahmad Khan must have struck the first coin issued by him. Two years later Firoz abdicated in favour of Ahmad Khan.

3. Muhammad Shah III.

R. Mint—Muhammadābād (Bidar).

Date—877 A.H.

This is a new type of silver Tanka of Muhammad Shah III. The obverse of this coin resembles the one found on copper coins. The reverse is the same as those of the known gold and silver coins of this king.

(b) MUGHAL EMPERORS.

4. Shāh Jāhān I.

Aj. Mint—Katak.

Date—Aban 1046 A. H.

This is an unpublished Muhar of Shah Jahan from this somewhat rare mint.

5. Aurangzeb Ālamgīr.

R. Mint—Zafarābād (Bidar).

Date—(10) 79-12 R. Y.

This is an unpublished 1/16 rupee from this Mint. ظفر of ظه is clear. It cannot be Zafarpur as the legend with م on obverse is found on early issues from Zafarabad mint.

6. Aurangzeb Ālamgīr.

R. Mint—Nasaratgadh ?

Date— -4×.R. Y.

Nasaratgadh is written نصرتگد instead of the usual way نصرت found on rupees of Aurangzeb. If the reading is correct, then No. 3131. a. of the Lucknow Museum Catalogue must be a coin of Nasaratgadh and not of Qamarnagar Mint.

7. Aurangzeb Ālamgīr.

R. Mint—Nasirābād.


Date—1101 A. H.—34 R. Y.

This is a clearer specimen of the rupee of Aurangzeb from Nasirabad Mint published in N. S. by Mr. M. A. Saboor of the Central Museum, Nagpur.

8. Azizuddin Ālamgir II.

Mint—Qamarnagar (?)

Date—Missing.

The Mint mark  and the type of calligraphy on the reverse of this coin resembles that of Qamarnagar Mint. If so, it is an unpublished Mint of this Emperor.

A RARE BAHMANI RUPEE.

By MR. C. R. SINGHAL,

PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM, BOMBAY.

In article No. 305, Numismatic Supplement No. XLIII, Capt. P. S. Tārāpore of Hyderabad (Deccan) has described a rare Bahmani rupee and assigns it to Tehamtan Shāh of the Sāsānian origin. The legend, according to him, reads as follows :—

Obverse. المتواثق بالدم الحنان (برالمظفر غياث الدنيا والدين)

Reverse. لهتمن شاه السلطان بن السلطان

Right Margin احسان باد and lower margin, the date ۷۹۹. He says: "Ghiyasuddin is one of the four Bahmani kings whose coins have not been discovered. Tehamtan Shāh seems to me to be quite clear. There is no doubt regarding its legibility. It cannot be 'Bahman Shāh' as the nuqtas on the 1st and 2nd ت are distinct. Tehamtan in Persian means Hercules. It will not be surprising if in future the genealogy of the Bahmani kings is traced back to Sāsānian kings."

By assigning this coin to Tehamtan Shāh, Capt. Tārāpore has added one more king to the rulers of the Bahmani dynasty and has traced its origin to Sāsānian kings. So far as the historical evidence is concerned, no ruler of this name is known to have existed in the Bahmani dynasty. If one carefully looks at the coin, he can easily find out that the whole trouble has arisen due to the wrong position of the nuqtas over the name of the king. The nuqtas are sometimes placed above or below a word to suit the taste and convenience of the scribe and no special importance as to their position in the Muslim Epigraphy and Numismatics is attached. Capt. Tārāpore says that "the nuqtas on the 1st and 2nd ت are distinct," and thus according to him there should be four nuqtas above, but actually there are two nuqtas only and hence his belief that it can be read "Tehamtan Shāh" falls to the ground. Instead of placing two nuqtas above, if one would have been placed below, the whole controversy could have been set at rest and one could easily read—"Bahman Shāh" which has been read as "Tehamtan Shāh."

He also says that "Ghiyasuddin is one of the four Bahmani kings whose coins have not been discovered." From the epithet "Ghiyasuddin" he evidently hits at the mark but the belief that no coins of this Sultan are known and secondly the wrong position

of the dots on the name of the king, leads him astray and forces him to assign this coin to Tehamtan Shāh. Although the coins of this ruler are not known so far, Mr. James Gibbs on page 18 of his article on "Gold and Silver Coins of the Bahmani Dynasty," published in Numismatic Chronicle 1881, makes a mention of a coin issued by this ruler. He says: "The short reign of Ghiās-ud-din, which extended over only six weeks, *did produce* a coinage, since General Cunningham has in his collection a copper coin of that prince, which reads Ghiās-ed-dunya-wa-ud-dīn, but it is not dated."

The date on the coin is 799 A. H. and if we look up the pages of any standard history of the Bahmani Dynasty we can find out the name of the Sultan who ruled in that year. On page 34 of "The History of the Bahmani Dynasty" by Major J. S. King, we find not only the name but the complete title of the Sultan, which is in close resemblance to the legend inscribed on this coin. It runs : ابوالمظفر سلطان غياث الدنيا والدين بهمن شاه Abul-Muzaffar Sultan Ghiyas-ud-dunya-wa-ud-din Bahman Shāh.

It, therefore, conclusively proves that the coin in question does not belong to Tehamtan Shāh, but is a unique rupee of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Bahman Shah, the sixth ruler of the Bahmani Dynasty.

THE DOUBTFULLY-ASSIGNED COINS OF NĀSIR SHĀH.

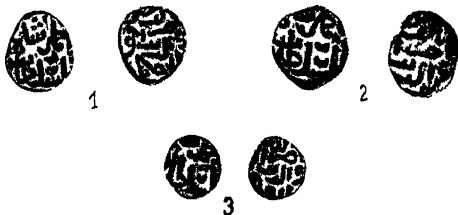
By MR. C. R. SINGHAL,

PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM, BOMBAY.

In my article published on p. 40 of the Numismatic Supplement No. XLII, I have tentatively assigned three copper coins of Nāsir Shāh to Mahmūd II of Gujarat. I have since been trying to find out the real Nāsir Shāh and assign these coins to him and it is a matter of great satisfaction that the problem has been solved at last.

The name of Nāsir Shāh has undergone a little change and it should now be read Nasir Shāh instead of Nāsir Shāh. While turning over the pages of the Cambridge History of India, Vol. III (Turks and Afghans), I came across one Nasir Khān who having proclaimed his independence, had assumed the title of Nasir Shāh and had been the Governor and ruler of Kālpi. He was the son of Qādir Khān who styled himself Qādir Shāh afterwards, and the estate of Kālpi, made over in perpetuity to his father by Hushang Shāh of Mālwa, came into his heritage.

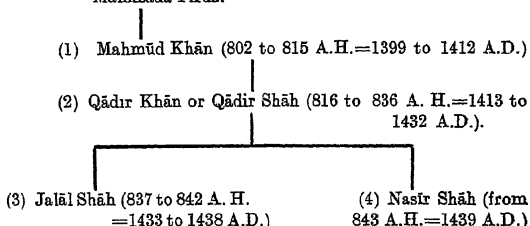
As he had adopted certain principles which were opposed to the tenets of Islam and as he used to scandalize the true Muslims, he was the cause of conflict between Mahmud Khilji of Mālwa and Mahmud Sharqi of Jaunpur. He was expelled from the town and after he agreed to abandon his heretic views, he was again installed in his original position.



After writing the above few lines my attention was drawn to Prof. Hodivāla's article on "The Unassigned Coins of Jalāl Shāh Sultani" published just after my article on p. 41 of the same journal, and it is a matter of happy coincidence that the learned professor

assigns the coins of Jalāl Shāh to the same dynasty to which these coins belong and proves that Jalāl Shāh and Nasir Shāh were both brothers, sons of Qādir Shāh, the ruler of Kālpi. Prof. Hodivālā in support of his proposition, has given numerous historical extracts and from the catena of these facts, a regular line of the semi-independent rulers of Kālpi can now be drawn as under :—

Malikzāda Firūz.



It is needless to reiterate all the historical events summed up by Prof. Hodivālā, and in order to get a complete idea of the erstwhile rulers of Kālpi, the readers of this note are requested to read these two articles consecutively.

The coins are round in shape and weigh 140, 134 and 65 grs. respectively.

The inscription on the obverse is Nāsir-ud-dunya-wa-ud-dīn Abul-faṭḥ, and on the reverse 'Nāsir Shāh us-Sultan.' The coins bear no date.

The legend is inscribed thus :—

Obverse.	Reverse.
ناصر الدنيا	ناصر شاه
والدين ابو	السلطان
الفتح	

A RARE FRACTIONAL PICE OF SHER SHAH SURI.

BY MR. C. R. SINGHAL,
PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM, BOMBAY.

A few days back, a dealer brought a hoard of rusty copper coins along with some other antiquities for sale. Out of this hoard, four tiny copper coins were purchased for this Museum. The coin which is described here, is one of these four. On careful scrutiny it turned out to be a rare one-twentieth of a paisa of Sher Shah's currency. The weight is 16 grains only and the coin is dated 94 × A.H. The legend runs as under :—

Obverse—	ابوالمظفر	
	۹۴ ×	شاه
Reverse—		شیر
		(سلطان)

Mr. H. N. Wright in his Catalogue on "The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi," has described four such coins (*vide* Nos. 1278 to 1281), but the legend on the reverse of this coin is different from those illustrated by him. We know "Abul-Muzaffar" is the honorific title of Sher Shah and the date 94 × A.H. tallies with the year of his reign.

CATALOGUE OF THE COINS of the SULTANS OF GUJARAT

Compiled by - - C. R. SINGHAL
& edited by - - G. V. ACHARYA

150 Pages with 11 plates.

The catalogue is really a corpus inasmuch as it affords the most complete and comprehensive study of the coinage of the Sultans of Gujarat published hitherto. All the known coins of the dynasty in various cabinets of the world are incorporated in this publication.

It can be had for Rs. 5/- only from

The Curator, Archaeological Section,
Prince of Wales Museum, BOMBAY.

NOTE ON A SILVER COIN OF AURANGZEB. A NEW MINT.

BY RAI BAHADUR PRAYAGDAYAL, LUCKNOW.

The examination of a hoard of 30 silver coins found in Allaha-
bad District of the U. P. has resulted in the discovery of a new mint
name *Hukeri* or *Hokri* of Mughul Emperor Aurangzeb. The coin
has been acquired by the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, and can be
read as under :—

	ب
Obverse—	زں جو در منبر در جهان
Reverse—	نمست جلوس ہو کری ۴۹
Weight—177 grs.	ضرب
Size—	95.

Hukeri is a village in the Chikodi Taluka of Belgaum District in the Bombay Presidency, and is connected with Poona and the large town of Gokak by metalled roads. Hukeri was an important town during the reign of Adil Shahi kings of Bijapur and has still some architectural remains of that period. After the fall of Bijapur and its inclusion in the Mughal Empire in 1686 A.D., Hukeri was the only part of Belgaum that remained in the possession of the Marathas.

Hukeri was certainly an important place during the reign of Bijapur kings and was under the Marathas during the Mughal rule from Aurangzeb downwards. Whether this is an issue of the Maratha Chief in the name of Aurangzeb or of Aurangzeb himself is the main point under consideration.¹

Authorities of the Hyderabad Museum have also acquired a coin of this mint.

¹ This is evidently a coin struck by the Maratha Chief at Hukeri in the name of Aurangzeb. It was a well known mint of the Marathas and coins issued from this mint in the name of the later Mughals will be published in the next issue of this journal.—EDITOR.

COINS OF DÉLWĀRĀ.

BY R. G. GYANI, M.A.,
(*Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.*)

In the Collection of Prof. Hodiwala that was purchased for the Cabinet of this museum, there were some coins identified as Akbar's coins of Agra with a mark of query. In size and caligraphy these coins slightly differ from those of Akbar's copper pieces which are generally dumpy and bigger in size with very bold letterings. These coins are of three different sizes :—The biggest size measures 7 or ·6, the middle size ·5 or ·55 and the smallest size ·4 or ·45. They weigh roughly in proportion of 3, 2 and 1 being about 150, 100 and 50 grains respectively with a difference of 2 to 6 grains in case of individual coins.

They bear the legend introduced by Akbar namely "Allaho Akbar," with Jalla Jalalahu on one side and Zarbe Delwāra on the other. It is in most cases spelt as ديلوارہ with double alif perhaps to record the correct pronunciation of the word with a long sound of ā in wā. This method is seldom noticed in the Muhammadan Coinage.

In ordinary course, we would identify it as Akbar's coin of Delwara—a mint unknown hitherto. But the style of the coin suggests that it may have been an issue of some Rajput State of that name. Looking for it in the Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. XI, Page 241, we find that it is an estate under the jurisdiction of Udaipur State found by Sajja who came from Kathiawar with his brother Ajja in the beginning of the 16th century and who was killed (1534) at the siege of Chitor. The present chief, who is called Raj Rana, traces his origin from them who were Jhala Rajputs. It is, therefore, possible that the rulers of this State, after the conquest of Chitor by Akbar and the flight of the Rana Pratap of Mewar from that place, might have accepted the suzerainty of the great Mughal and struck local coins in his name and style to show that they put it in action too and thus became safe from any more Imperial invasions.

All these coins bear the date 1000 either on the reverse or on the obverse.

We have two tiny coins of Jehangir also of the smallest size with the legend. جهانگیر بادشاہ on one side and ضرب ديلوارہ on the other. Here we find only one Alif. A detailed study of the legends with several variations is as follows :—

There are about eight varieties of these copper coins on which

the legend of Akbar and the mint name appears with the date 1000 on some of them.

Variety.	1.	Obverse : الله	
		Reverse : ديلوارہ	
„	2.	Obverse : الله اكبر	
		Reverse : ضرب سنہ ديلوارہ	
„	3.	Obverse : اكبر الله	This coin bears a very clear date.
		Reverse : ديلوارہ ۱۰۰۰	
		الله	
„	4.	Obverse : اكبر سنہ	
		ضرب Reverse : ديلوارہ	
		الله	
„	5.	Obverse : اكبر جل جلالہ	
		ضرب Reverse : ديلوارہ	
		الله	
„	6.	Obverse : اكبر جل جلالہ	
		Reverse : ديلوارہ ۱۰۰۰	
		سنہ	
„	7.	Obverse : الله اكبر ۱۰۰۰	
		سنہ Reverse : ضرب	
		ديلوارہ	
„	8.	Obverse : اكبر جلال الدين محمد	
		سنہ	

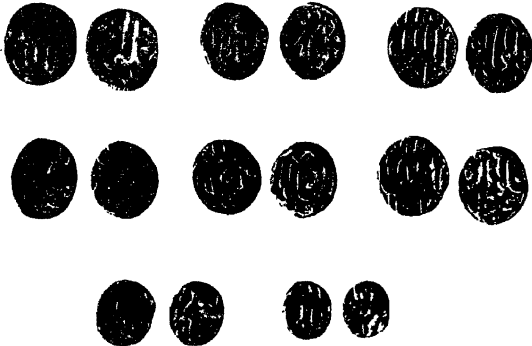
Reverse : ديلوارہ
سنہ

Jehangir

1. Obverse : جہانگیر بادشاہ

Reverse : ديلوارہ
ضرب

These coins await a historical investigation to discover the authority under which these tiny records came into existence. There are two more places bearing the name Delwara but the one under the Udaipur jurisdiction with which the mint name has been identified in this note seems to be the most plausible.



REVIEWS

A Hoard of Silver Punch-marked Coins from Purnea, by P. N. Bhattacharya, M.A. *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India*, No. 62. Pp. vi, 96. With 12 Plates. Price Rs. 5-6 as. or 8s. 6d.

This is a notable contribution to the literature on punch-marked coins. The Director-General of Archæology in India, Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, in a foreword briefly describes the horde known as the Purnea Horde, which was found in a hard conglomerate mass embedded in a small river at Patraha in the Purnea District, Behar. The horde comprised a total of 2,873 silver punch-marked coins and is the largest hoard so far unearthed. Mr. Pares Nath Bhattacharya, Assistant Curator in the Archæological Section of the Indian Museum, was entrusted with the preparation of a systematic study of 1,703 coins selected from the hoard; it must be said to his credit that he has done his work with thoroughness and care, both of which are so essential in any study of the extremely complex subject of India's oldest coinage. Following more or less the lines of treatment in Mr. Allan's Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India in the British Museum, he has arranged the coins into three main classes, which are subdivided into different groups which again include many varieties. The plates of symbols in tabular form giving references to the coins themselves are particularly useful. A number of new varieties have been recorded. Of especial interest is the large number of coins tabulated on pp. 5-7 and 11-13 in which the sun symbol as well as the 'six-armed' symbol, which occur on every coin of the Taxila hoard found in 1924 and recently authoritatively described by Mr. E. H. C. Walsh are entirely absent and instead certain other constant symbols appear on the obverse.

A word of praise must be given to the excellent drawings of symbols occurring on the coins as well as to the general get-up of the volume.

AJIT GHOSE.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE VOLUMES II & III OF THE CATALOGUE OF COINS IN THE INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA.

BY MAULAVI SHAMSUDDIN AHMAD, M.A.

ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SECTION
INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA.

Both the publications mentioned above have been compiled after the model of and issued as supplement to Mr. Nelson Wright's Catalogues of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, published in 1907.

In keeping with the parent volumes, the Supplement to Vol. II deals with the Coinage of the Sultans of Delhi and their Contemporaries in various provinces of India with a new addition of the coins of the Nawabs of Madura, while the Supplement to Vol. III deals with the Mughal coins added to the collection of the said Museum since the publication of the original Catalogue. Inasmuch as they fairly represent almost all the types known hitherto and also add a few ones to the stock of the numismatic knowledge, these publications can be looked upon as useful sources of sidelights on the Muslim period of the Indian history. Let us, therefore, cast a glance over a few noteworthy issues brought to light by the publication of these Supplements.

SUPPLEMENT TO VOL. II.

The most striking of the rare coins of this Section are Nos. 118 and 119. One is a square gold Muhr and the other is a silver coin issued from the mint Akbarpur Tanda by Sher Shah Suri. Besides, there are a number of new and unpublished types included in this supplementary volume.

The plates unfortunately do not afford satisfaction inasmuch as they do not testify the readings properly. Want of arrangement of coins in the serial order mar the easy reference. Some rare coins do not at all find a place in the plates and thus the chance of verifying the readings of some new mints is denied to the readers. Out of the rare ones that are illustrated a reference is invited to coin No. 144 on plate I which is assigned as a coin of Sher Shah issued from a new mint Balapur. We cannot, however, agree with this reading and discovery as the mint name on the coin illustrated is "Balapur" without doubt.

This Section of the Cabinet of this premier Museum of Bengal is naturally the richest and makes a valuable contribution to the history of Bengal. Based on these numismatic records, the author has made certain corrections in the chronology of the Sultans of Bengal. Here are the conclusions arrived at by the author:—

(1) Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah is hitherto known to have ruled from 792 to 799 A. H. while the numismatic evidence mentioned in the Supplement extends his rule to 810 A. H.

(2) Saifuddin Hamza, who is supposed to have ruled from 799 to 809, is not substantiated by numismatic evidence. His coins recorded in this Supplement spot his rule to 813 and 814 A. H. only.

(3) Similarly, the hitherto acknowledged reign of Shihabuddin Bayazid Shah being 812 to 817 is reduced to 814 to 817 A. H.

(4) Alauddin Firozshah, son of Bayazid, is introduced in the line of the Sultans of Bengal for the first time and is shown to have ruled for a few months in 817 A. H.

(5) Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah's date of the accession of the throne of Bengal is corrected from 817 to 818 A. H.

Of the several new and hitherto unrepresented types of these coins the following merit a mention:—

(a) AR—6; A coin of Ghiyasuddin Bahadur Shah minted at Sunargaon bearing the name of Muhammad IV bin Tughlaq on the reverse. No coin bearing the name of both these monarchs has been noticed so far.

(b) AR 48:—is an interesting coin of Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah minted at Firozabad and dated 760 A. H., inasmuch as it contradicts the historian's version of 759 A. H. being the date of his death.

(c) AR 109 & 110 are Sufuddin Hamzashah's coins of Satgaon and Muazzamabad mints respectively, and are published for the first time.

(d) AR 139 is a very interesting coin of Jalaluddin Muhammad-shah, inasmuch as on the reverse of the coin is figured a lion advancing to right with his forepaw raised. This is the first instance where the figure of an animal is noticed on the coins of the Sultans of Bengal.

(e) Æ 154—This coin of Rukniddin Barbak Shah discovered by the author upsets the belief prevailing hitherto that the Sultans of Bengal did not strike copper coins.

(f) AR 223—A new mint of Kalifatabad Badarpur to those whence Ghiyasuddin Mahmud Shah II is known to have issued his coins.

Thus, it can be seen that this Section of the Supplement contains a good many new types of coins with far-reaching effect on the Numismatics and History of the Sultans of Bengal.

The coins of the rulers of Madura in South India is a new introduction in this publication. The discovery of a coin of Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah dated 734 pushes the foundation of this dynasty back by a year. Besides, several new dates are recorded in this Section also. For instance, coins of Ahsan Shah dated 734, 735 and 739 and the issues of Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah of 760 and 764 A. H. are noticed for the first time.

The collection of these coins in the Indian Museum seems to have been considerably enriched since the publication of the last catalogue. The coins of Bahmans
BAHMANS COINS
of Nizam Shah and Mahmud bin Muhammad Shah are recorded for the first time in this publication.

A few coins of this Section which deserve a mention are :—

AR 1—This coin of Alauddin Bahamn Shah, the founder of the Bahmani dynasty, is published for the first time in this Supplement. Besides this, Nos. AR 5, Æ 12, 27 and 57 are rare pieces.

SUPPLEMENT TO VOL. III—MUGHALS.

The catalogues of Mughal Coins in the Cabinet of the Museums at Lucknow and Lahore are still almost a last word so far as the Mughal coins are concerned except a few minor details in which the new discoveries differ. This Supplement also adds a few such types which can be considered as rare and valuable additions to the Cabinet of the Indian Museum since the publication of Vol. III.

The most striking of the rarities are two silver types of Barar mint on one of which (Nos. 91 & 92) a tiny bird is carved below the mint name while in another type (Nos. 93, 95 & 96) the word رم (Ram in Persian characters replaces the bird. Whether these are introduced on the coins as a result of Akbar's love for novelty or are symbols of the mint masters who tried to put in their marks on these issues, is a question that needs consideration.

NEWS AND NOTES.

DISCOVERY OF NEW ANCIENT COINS IN JAIPUR STATE.

The department of Archæology of Jaipur State is to be congratulated on the very important numismatic discoveries it has made during the recent excavation season. A large number of Malava coins, a big hoard of punch-marked coins containing as many as 3,076 coins and some very early inscribed coins of the 3rd century B. C. were found at the village Rairh situated on the western extremity of the ruins designated by the same name. This village is situated in Thikana Bhartala in Tehsil Bonli of the Jaipur State, situated at a distance of 56 miles from Jaipur. The distance of the first 41 miles is covered by the rail, as well as by a good metalled road, but beyond Nawai, where these roads terminate, there are only cart tracks, not easily accessible. Dr K.N. Puri, the Superintendent of Archæology, Jaipur State, has very kindly supplied to us an account of this discovery, in the course of which he says:—

“The ancient site is situated in a large bend of the river Dhiil and measures about 2,500 feet in length by about 1,500 feet from North to South. These ruins which have been the scene of systematic excavations by the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur were unknown prior to the year 1937 when a treasure trove consisting of 326 punch-marked silver coins was found by a peasant boy. After preliminary examination of the site, excavations were started by the late Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, C.I.E., during the field season of the year 1938-39 and concluded by Dr. K. N. Puri, the present Superintendent of Archæology. The site which flourished as a metallurgical and industrial centre from about the 3rd century B. C. to the close of the 2nd century A. D. was in the occupation of Mālava tribe whose copper coins are found in abundance scattered all over the surface of the ruins. Besides a large number of other interesting antiquities, the site has proved to be extremely rich so far as the discovery of punch-marked silver coins is concerned; of these no less than 3,076 composed of five hoards have been found. The Rairh collection of punch-marked coins which is now the biggest collection found from any single site from Peshawar to Godawari in the south and from Palanpur in the west to Midnapur in the east, will be studied in detail after the coins have been chemically treated. In addition to these a new type of rectangular copper coin bearing on the obverse an epigraph in two lines in early Brahmi characters of the 3rd century B. C. has been

round. The inscription reads "*Senāpati Vachagha*" which may be rendered "Of the Commander-in-Chief Vachhaga." The reverse shows an elephant with outstretched trunk standing on a standard rising from a railing. The name on this coin is of the same category of names, said to be the names of Mālava chiefs, but the prefix *Senāpati* is a new addition hitherto unknown."

Among other numismatic discoveries at the place may be mentioned an Uddhehika coin with the legend *Sūryamitra*, a coin of Dhruvamitra, and seven coins with the legend *Vapu* written in early Brāhmī characters. Among other kings represented in the hoard are Brahmamitra of Mathurā and the Greek ruler Apollodotus. Along with the tiny Mālava coins with the legend *Mālavāna jaya*, a Mālava seal also has been found with the legend [*Ma*]lavajana-padasa.

As we go to the press, we have received a detailed note on some of the coins discovered at Rairh from Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, the Director-General of Archæology in India, which has enabled us to supply the above information. It will be published in the next number.

DISCOVERIES AT RAJGHAT (BENARES).

The necessity of the extension of the passenger and goods platforms of the Kashi Station has resulted in important archæological discoveries at Rājghāt, the northern extremity of the present city of Benares. The construction of the platforms necessitated the filling up of extensive low-lying tracts, for which the Railway administration began to take earth from the mounds at Rajghat lying nearby. As they began to go deeper and deeper, a number of archæological finds began to be made. Among these were numerous inscribed seals of kings, ministers, private individuals and temples. A large number of them belong to the Gupta period, the level of which was reached when the excavations had reached a depth of about 18 feet.

From the numismatic point of view some of the seals are very important, for they show either the reverse or the obverse of some of the issues of the imperial Guptas. Thus some seals show busts similar to those on the obverse of the copper coins of the Guptas, and some have got a fan-tailed peacock as on the silver coins of Kumāragupta. It would thus appear that there was an imperial mint at Benares during the Gupta period, some of the dies of which were occasionally used for sealing. An article on these seals will appear in the next issue of the Journal.

The railway digging at the site could hardly be called an excavation; it was more a spoliation of an archæological site than

anything else. It however did one good thing; it removed an enormous mass of earth and laid bare the remains of the Gupta period, which otherwise would have required several years to be reached. In the beginning of October 1940, R. B. K. N. Dikshit, the Director General of Archaeology, visited the place and was able to reach an agreement with the railway authorities, whereby a large area of the excavation was left undisturbed at the disposal of the Archaeological Department for carrying on scientific excavations. This work has now been begun by the Department and we hope that it will lead to further important archaeological and numismatic discoveries.

EXCAVATIONS AT RAMNAGAR.

We understand that in the coming excavation season, the archaeological department is going to concentrate a good deal of its energy and resources in excavating the ancient site of Ramnagar in Ahichchhatra. The site has been very rich in numismatic finds and we have no doubt that as a result of the excavations, further light will be thrown on the numismatics of the few centuries preceding and following the Christian era. The excavations will be carried out under the direct guidance of R. B. K. N. Dikshit, the Director-General of Archaeology.

U. P. GOVERNMENT.

We have received the report of the Coin Committee of the United Provinces for the year 1939-40 wherein after the expression of regret at the sad demise of Sir H. Bomford and an appreciation of the work done by Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal, the details of the Treasure Trove coins discovered during the year under review are given.

According to the report, in all nine hoards of coins found as Treasure Trove in various districts of the Province were dealt with, which consisted of a total of 5 gold, 934 silver, 202 billion and 3,219 copper coins. They included the issues of the ancient Yaudheya republic, Sultans of Delhi, Kings of Jaunpur and Malwa, Mughal Emperors and Balashahi rupees. They were acquired and distributed to various Coin Cabinets in India (of which a list is appended).

Among the gold coins a piece of Pran Narain bearing Saka Samvat 757 needs investigation. Out of the silver issues discovered, a rupee of Aurangzeb with Hukeri mint is an unpublished issue, about which a note has appeared elsewhere in this journal. Billion coins yielded two rare issues of Mubarak Shah and Firoz Tughlak. Among the copper coins were found the most important issues of

the coins of the Yaudheya republic representing class 3 of the B.M.C. of which 16 coins furnish new varieties. This is the first instance of a hoard of Yaudheya coins found in U. P. Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal's article on these interesting coins appears elsewhere in this issue.

BIHAR GOVERNMENT.

We are supplied with a report from the Treasure Trove officer, Bihar and Orissa, and the Secretary of the Coin Committee, Patna, which informs us of the find of 12 silver and 64 copper coins which were acquired and distributed during the year.

BOMBAY GOVERNMENT.

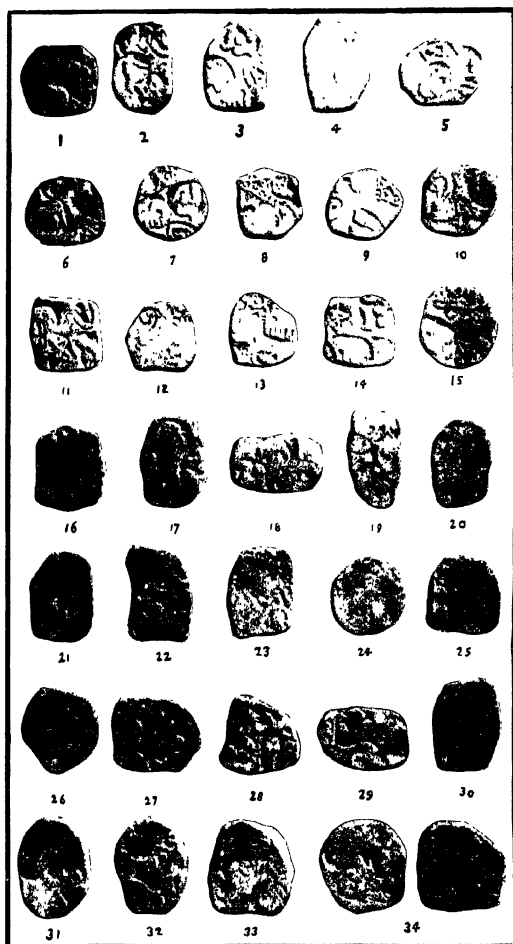
The Honorary Secretary of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society has sent us a report on the 75 silver coins found at Mahal Pandhari (West Khandesh) containing the issues of Aurangzeb and later Mughals which were acquired and distributed under the T. T. Act.

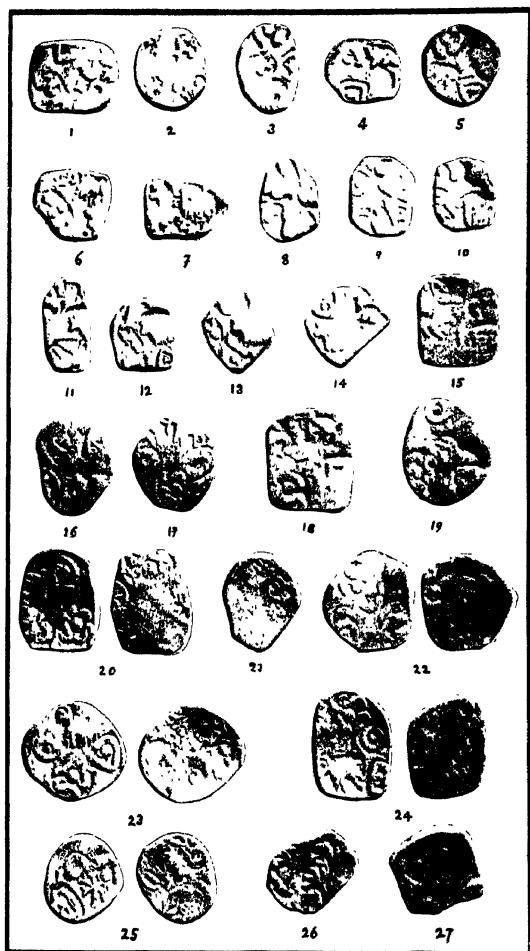
We are also requested to announce that there are certain T.T. coins available for sale at His Majesty's Mint, Bombay. They contain 2 gold coins of Vijayanagar, 2 silver coins of Aurangzeb and about 53 silver coins of later Mughals and Marathas.

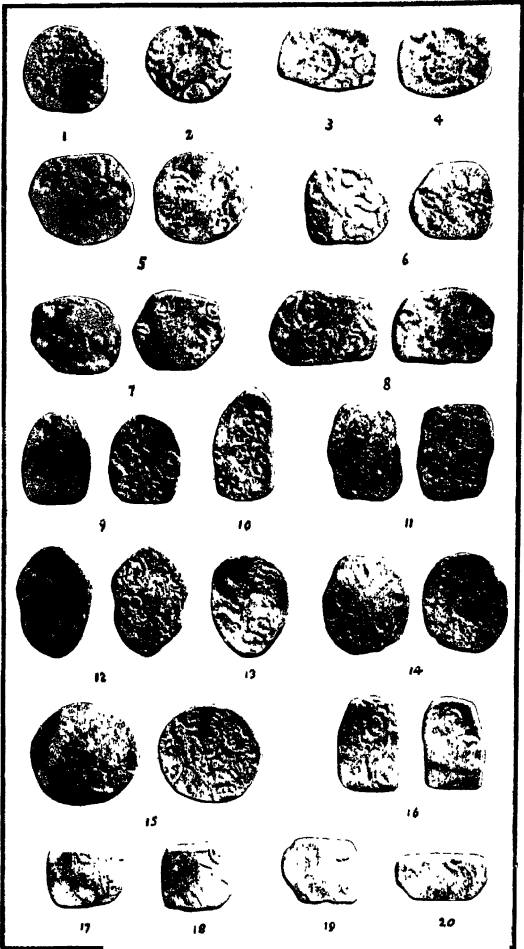
PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM, BOMBAY.

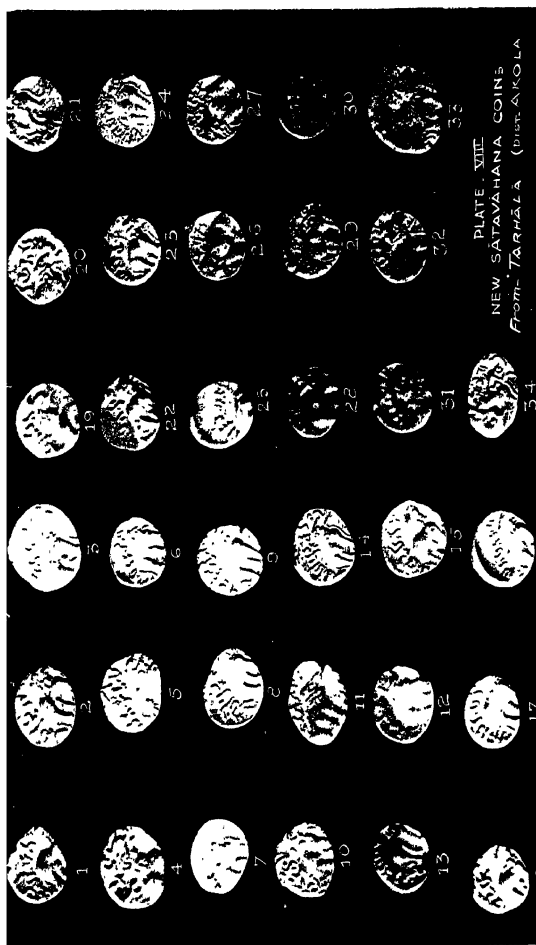
We have received a statement from the Curator (Archæological Section) Prince of Wales Museum wherein it is stated that during the year 107 gold, 713 silver and 467 copper coins were offered for selection by the Governments of Central Provinces (150 *AR*), United Provinces (93 *R*, 234 *Æ*), Punjab (134 *R*, 152 *Æ*), Madras (107 *Δ*, 354 *R* and 17 *Æ*) and Bihar (12 *AR*, 64 *Æ*) out of which 5 gold, 62 silver and 22 copper coins in all were selected and acquired for the Cabinet of the Museum.

Besides this, about three Treasure Trove hoards discovered in Bombay Presidency were examined and reported to the Government for acquisition. One of these lots from Satara District contained 114 gold coins of the Vijayanagar dynasty, the other two contained coins of the Mughals and those struck in the name of later Mughals by various Maratha States in Western India. The new mints of Aurangnagar, Daman, Junnar and mint epithets of Azamnagar and Karnatak with Bijapur and various mint marks found on these coins are under study.











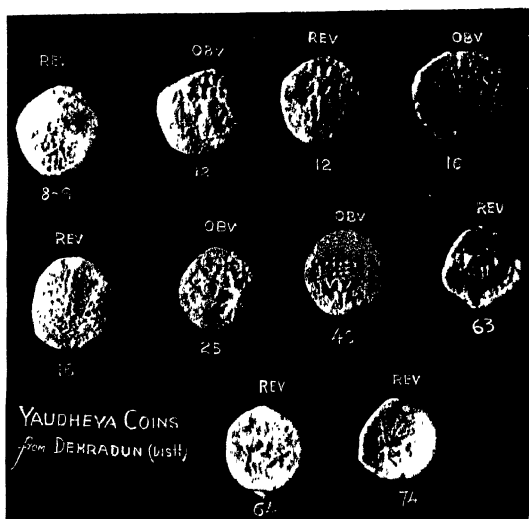


Plate X-A

